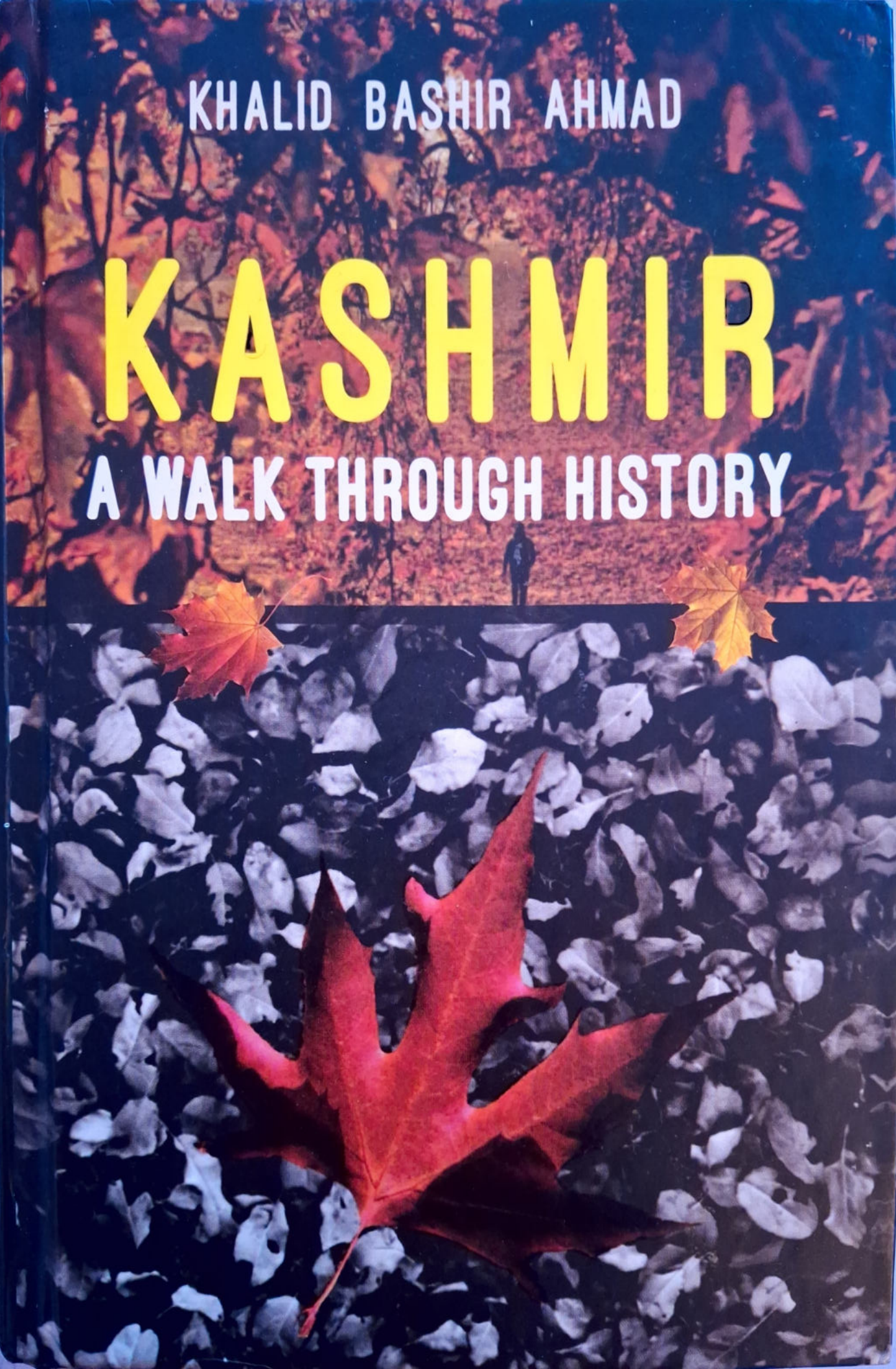


KHALID BASHIR AHMAD

KASHMIR

A WALK THROUGH HISTORY



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book comes close on the heels of my previous work, *Kashmir: Exposing the Myth Behind the Narrative* and, likewise, underscores the importance of a fresh look at our history by blowing away some of the fog accumulated over it. The events and occurrences discussed here mostly do not figure in the 'popular narrative' or have been told in a different vein. The idea is to bring to the fore a fresh perspective corroborated by undisputed sources. The text is adequately referenced and supported by a wealth of eyewitness account.

All of us are familiar with a prominent Kashmir hill, variously named as *Gopadari*, *Takht-i-Sulaiman* and *Shankaracharya*, situated in the heart of Srinagar City with an ancient stone temple on its summit. However, what is least known about the place is that for several centuries there was

a mosque alongside the temple that mysteriously disappeared during the early 20th century. It is unlikely that historians could be oblivious of its existence or its disappearance when most of them have been vocal on the alleged destruction of religious icons of a particular community in Kashmir. The *Missing Mosque* pieces together the story of a Muslim worship place atop the hill and its secretly executed demolition. On the basis of historical evidence, it also analyses the popular belief about the ancient temple.

In recent years, an important cave shrine in the mountains of south-Kashmir has witnessed a never-seen-before pilgrim surge. The annual religious ritual was conducted with full logistic support by the government until some years back when an independent body was created to run its affairs. Soon, controversy erupted over the manner in which the management conducted the affairs of the pilgrimage. The situation took a violent turn, first in Kashmir and then in Jammu, in 2008 resulting in the death of several people. Drawing from early texts, *History of a Pilgrimage* bears out that ancient Kashmir was not familiar with this shrine or pilgrimage to it. Its history dates back to medieval Kashmir only. It also chronicles transformation of a quiet and solemn spiritual exercise in the past to a jingoistic political statement in recent times.

Students of the subcontinent's history are acquainted with communal violence erupting in the wake of the Partition and many a human tragedy born out of it. Mass killing of people of different communities in the Punjab and Bengal form an important element of the South Asian narrative on the Partition. However, a series of massacres of the Muslims

enacted around the same time in a province of the princely state of Jammu & Kashmir has not found place in history books. There is no denying that terrible violence was also committed against the Hindus and the Sikhs in some parts of the State that now form part of Pakistan Administered Kashmir. However, what made brutality against Muslims more horrendous was complicity of the State - the Maharaja, his consort, the Prime Minister, the Governor and the State Army - in the bloodshed. *Jammu Massacres* takes a reader through those gruesome incidents. It is the first detailed and thoroughly backed-by-facts account of the darkest period of our history, and identifies actors responsible for the blood spill.

Seventy years since the Jammu massacres, there are now only a few victims and eyewitnesses left as living archive of this holocaust. *Eyewitnesses to Bloodshed* tracks some of them to present a wide-angle view of the ghastly violence. The narrators include senior journalists, prominent political and social activists and ordinary people. Their commentary is a chilling story of how low humans could stoop to indulge in mass killing of their compatriots and how the State, abdicating its sacred responsibility to protect its subjects, joined the killers.

Ever since the Partition, Kashmir has remained at the core of dispute between the two south-Asian neighbours - India and Pakistan. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru's infatuation with Kashmir is a widely written about fact, and largely viewed as the reason for India's military intervention in Kashmir in October 1947. Nehru's rival in politics and the Founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was no less passionate about Kashmir and is known to have

died with a constant care about the Himalayan valley. Jinnah felt frustrated over not being allowed to visit the Valley when in the middle of September 1947 he wanted to negotiate in Srinagar its future with Maharaja Hari Singh. His two visits to Kashmir are known and some of his biographers also allude to a third visit. *Jinnah and Kashmir* gives a graphic account of the *Quaid-e-Azam's* visits to Kashmir. It unveils many developments linked with his stay in the Valley. Importantly, and for the first time, it digs out an historical document confirming that Jinnah had visited Kashmir at least four times. An in-depth and well researched account, it captures a politically important phase of Kashmir's history that was to severely affect its future.

During 1940s, the Government of Maharaja Hari Singh raked up a huge storm by ordering change in the script of the official language of Jammu & Kashmir from Persian to Devnagri. The royal decree caused anger and anguish among the majority Muslim community that viewed it as plain communalism. The two main political parties of Kashmir - the National Conference and the Muslim Conference - opposed the order tooth and nail until one time when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah turned gears and announced that he would accept the decision of Jawaharlal Nehru on the script controversy even if it was for Sanskrit. *A Scripted Controversy* takes a reader back to the Kashmir of 1940s and chronicles the controversy and the men behind it. It unearths an historical document on the standpoint of the Muslims and answers the curiosity on why they rose against change in the script of Urdu language.

The Dogra rule (1846-1947) in Kashmir is identified with oppression and religious discrimination against people. A wealth of written sources left behind by European travellers and writers allows a peep into the life in Kashmir under the Dogra rule. However, local people who lived through those times served as oral source of history of that period from whom the story has travelled to the present generation. *Recollections of a Century* profiles Kashmir through the reminiscences of one such centurion who lived through the reign of the last two Dogra rulers – Pratap Singh and Hari Singh. It also uncovers some hitherto unknown details about the personal and political life of Kashmir's then popular leader, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The narration literally takes a reader on a walk through the recent history of Kashmir.

As appendixes, the book carries English translation of two historical documents on a major controversy created by the Government in 1940 to change the script of Urdu language. The documents, originally written in Urdu, include an exhaustive Memorandum sent by late Mirwaiz of Kashmir, Molvi Muhammad Yusuf Shah to Maharaja Hari Singh and a letter he addressed to the then Prime Minister, Gopalaswami Ayyangar. A third document is the Report of the Committee appointed by the Government in 2013 to recommend measures for promotion of Urdu language.

In completing this work, I owe my sincere thanks to people who shared eyewitness account of violence in Jammu. They include Ved Bhasin, Krishan Dev Sethi, Balraj Puri, Prof. Abdul Aziz Bhat, Advocate Shabir Ahmad Salahria,

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THE MISSING MOSQUE

DURING the mid-twentieth century, senior citizens at Sonawar, a quarter of the Srinagar city situated in the foot of the *Takeht-i-Sulaiman* or the *Shankaracharya* hill¹ would talk about a mosque on its summit that was not there anymore. A dilapidated stone plinth, however, existed as the last remnant of the missing mosque.² During late 1950s, Abdus Samad Mir, a resident of Bonamsar, a locality nestled in the north foot of the hill, fought a long but unsuccessful battle for restoration of the place of worship. He and some other residents of Bonamsar, including Ghulam Nabi Bhat, Ali Muhammad Sofi and Abdul Kabir Ganai, would visit the hill-top every Thursday, stay there for the night and listen to devotional songs.³ Mir's two sons, Ghulam Qadir and Muhammad Ramzan would take pitchers of water for them in the morning for ablution to offer prayers on the ground where previously a mosque stood.

Mir resisted construction of a single storey building by the Dharmarth Trust, headed by Dr. Karan Singh, on the precipice

from the side of the River Jhelum. He was lodged in police lock-up several times for facing up to the officials of the Dharmarth Trust. On one occasion, he confronted Singh and demanded restoration of the land.⁴ It was a battle of un-equals, given the fact that the person on the other side was the Head of the State of Jammu & Kashmir. Years later, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah returned to power in 1975, Mir, his staunch supporter and follower, approached him along with some documents urging him to have the property released from 'illegal occupation of the Dharmarth Trust'. On Sheikh's assurance, he gave the papers to the Chief Minister who, however, neither kept his promise nor returned the documents. Mir passed away on 11 January 1981 and with him the fight for the disappeared mosque also died.⁵

Aga Nasir was the Deputy Commissioner of Srinagar when the local people led by Mir were fighting for the restoration of the mosque. Nasir, who held the post in 1957-58, was outwardly 'sympathetic' towards the demand but his official position did not allow him to do anything given the fact that the dispute involved the *Sadr-i-Riyasat* himself. Merajuddin Bhat, 70, of Palpora, another locality adjacent to Bonamsar, also resting in the foot of the hill, recalls three elders of the area including his father going to the then Prime Minister, Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad, for his intervention. However, the latter sent them back by saying that they should care about poor attendance of devotees in mosques located in the foot of the hill before thinking of reconstructing one on its summit. To avoid any confrontation, the Prime Minister reportedly told them that they could use a small space of the summit for offering prayers. That was where Mir and some of his friends would go each Thursday for night stay and prayers.

More than a decade later, when a serpentine road leading to the hill-top was constructed the 'last trace' of the mosque got obliterated. The alleged cleaning-up coincided with the construction of a flight of stone steps up to the summit from the side of the 'erstwhile mosque' overlooking the Dal Lake. Prior to this, the temple was approached through the hill trail from the side of the River Jhelum.⁶

Did a mosque exist atop the hill?

To answer this question, one would first like to hear what the oldest living person of the area had to say before looking for any historical or documentary evidence facilitating a clear view.

Oldest man's testimony

In 2010, Muhammad Sidiq Parray, a centurion from Sonawar, was the oldest living person of the area.⁷ As a young boy, he had climbed the hill 'hundreds of times' where he took his cattle to graze.⁸ He vividly recollected the existence of a single-room structure on the summit of the hill that was a mosque in the olden times. However, the structure was in an abandoned state then. Parray had taken shelter inside the building several times when it rained during the time he happened to be there.⁹ Those were the early years of the 20th century.

Although Parray's account corroborates what had been popularly known in and around Sonawar it can hardly be passed off as the conclusive proof of existence of a mosque atop the hill. There has to be some historical evidence to support this claim. Is there any?

Historical evidence

The earliest historical evidence of a mosque on the hill near the fabled temple dates back to the 14th century when Kashmiris *en masse* converted to Islam. It was a *kahanqah* constructed by

Sheikh Sultan Mohammad.¹⁰ According to the 16th century chronicler, Syed Ali, the Sheikh, who originally belonged to Pakhli and stayed in Kashmir for many years on the advice of Mir Syed Ali Hamdani, constructed a hospice near the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* (Solomon's Throne as the old shrine built of stone on the hillock is known) and meditated there. The *khanqah* was also visited by many people.¹¹ It is important to understand that a *khanqah* is essentially a mosque where besides offering congregational prayers, devotees meditate as well.

Another clinching, and screaming, evidence of a mosque having been there on the hill summit is produced by a 17th century French visitor. Francois Bernier who came to Kashmir as Aurangzeb's physician when the king visited the Valley in 1665 AD. is unambiguous in identifying a mosque atop the hill. He writes:

Opposite to this hill [*Hari Parbat or Koh-i-Maaran*] is seen another, on which is also erected a small *Mosque* with a garden and an extremely ancient building, which bears evident marks of having been a temple for idols, although named as *Tact-Souliman*, the Throne of Solomon.¹²

In his annotation to *Tact-Souliman*, Archibald Constable, translator of Bernier's travelogue, has erred in concluding that a part of the temple structure was turned into a mosque at the time of the first invasion of Kashmir by the Mohammadans, around 1015 AD. The assumption is fallacious, firstly because Bernier clearly talks about two separate structures on the hill-top and not the one being part of the other. So there is no question of or scope to conclude that a part of the ancient structure had been turned into a mosque. Secondly, Constable seems to be oblivious of history in so far as Kashmir of 1015 AD is concerned. He appears talking about the unsuccessful invasion on Kashmir by Mehmood Ghazni when Samgramaraja

(1003-1028 AD) held the throne. Although Samgramaraja's troops were defeated, the invader Ghazni's army could not enter Kashmir and had to "retire owing to inclement weather and inaccessibility of the mountain barriers."¹³

It is difficult to miss the emphasis Bernier lays on the mosque in comparison to the ancient stone structure when he refers to the "mosque with a garden" before mentioning the 'extremely ancient building'. So there is no ambiguity in the mosque and the temple having stood there adjacent to each other. Bernier's account should also set at rest the suggestion that during the Muslim rule in Kashmir the ancient structure might have been internally redone to convert it into a mosque or a meditation cell.¹⁴ "There was a mosque adjacent to this temple which, being in disuse has now disappeared", writes the 19th century historian, Hassan Khuihami.¹⁵

Documentary evidence

After the historical evidence, let us now look at the documentary evidence in the form of two photographs. One of these is taken in 1911 AD.¹⁶ Although the focus of the picture is the ancient stone temple but it serves as a wrap-up evidence to establish the existence of a single storey building akin to an old type mosque on its left side. The entrance of the rectangular building is to the east and there is a small window also on this side. The structure has earthen roof, as was a common feature of old buildings in Kashmir. The more important aspect is that the building stood exactly where the plinth of the pulled down structure existed till some decades back.

The other photograph is a 1935 capture of the location from a different angle in which while one can prominently see the ancient shrine but the structure next to it, as seen in the first

photograph, is conspicuously missing. The rock and the raised earth in front of the disappeared structure, as seen in the first photograph, are flattened into a level surface.

The existence of a mosque atop the *Takeht-i-Sulaiman* hill having been recognised, an important question now arises: How and when did it disappear?

Demolition of the mosque

The vanishing of the mosque that Sheikh Sultan Muhammad constructed in the 14th century or Francois Bernier saw in 1665 AD or the structure that existed there as late as up to 1911 AD remains a mystery. Obviously, somebody had undertaken a cleaning up operation. Given the photographic evidence, this operation must have taken place post-1911 when Pratap Singh ruled Kashmir. His reign spanned between 1885 AD and 1925 AD. A word about Pratap Singh might help in the appreciation of this premise.

A 19th century British visitor to Kashmir describes the Dogra rulers as the "meanest men"¹⁷ that ever held a throne. They were all ruthless and atrocious towards their Muslim subjects in Kashmir which fact is extensively documented. However, Pratap Singh was particularly known to be full of vengeance against them, so much so that he would not bear the sight of a Muslim in the morning after he rose from his bed.¹⁸ He had also banned burial of Muslims in the graveyard at Sonawar just because he did not want a funeral procession pass his way.¹⁹

Pertinently, around this time [post-1911] the entry of Muslims into the temple premises was banned through an official notification approved by Maharaja Pratap Singh. In 1917, the then Home Minister under the Maharaja's rule moved a proposal to re-notify the ban on the entry of 'non-

Hindus' in the sanctuary of the temple pleading that the writing on the old notice board put up there under the signatures of his predecessor, late Dr. A. Mitra, had been effaced.²⁰ The proposal was forwarded by the Chief Minister to Pratap Singh on 3 October 1917 who approved it on the following day. The effacing of the writing on the notice board in 1917 explains that the ban on the entry of Muslims into the temple premises was imposed a few years prior to its re-notification and - in all probability - in anticipation of a secret cleanup operation.

Another possibility is that the mosque was razed in 1925 when Maharaja of Mysore, Krishnaraja Wadiyar, visited Kashmir and financed some works on the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* hill including electrification of the temple.²¹ It is likely that while these works were underway the abandoned mosque was pulled down and the uneven surface levelled. Importantly, when archaeologist R. C. Kak, who later became the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir under the last Dogra ruler, published his *The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* in 1933, the mosque had disappeared and what was left there were "the ruins of two Muslim structures, probably the remains of the small mosque and garden mentioned by Bernier, and belonging perhaps to the reign of Shah Jahan, when the Persian and Arabic inscriptions in the temple were put up."²² This is the period when local Muslims were buried under the mountain of oppression and any resistance or protest against the desecration of a mosque could simply not be imagined.

Solomon's visit and the *Takht-i-Sulaiman*

The stone temple that adorns the hill today is a landmark site in Kashmir since the ancient times. Its history is traced farther back in time than 220 BC when the shrine is supposed to have been erected first by Jaloka. According to legend that has also found mention in the early history of Kashmir²³, one

Sandiman flew into Kashmir and descended on the hill. Pandit Ratnagar writes that within few days of Raja Narendra ascending the throne a person by the name of Sandiman, who was from the western territories, came to Kashmir and descended on Mount Jeetlark. The hill, it is evident, was known as *Jeetlark* during the time of Ratnagar. Kalhana mentions it as *Gopadari* hill and gives an account of the fight between the troops of the then ruler and the pretender Bhiksacara who invaded Srinagar, was repulsed and latter took refuge on the Gopadri hill. Bhiksacara's troops were besieged by the royal forces until they found passage from the low neck of the hill in the east to retreat to the higher hills.²⁴ During the Muslim rule and even long after its termination, it was known as the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* or the *Koh-i-Sulaiman* before rechristened as the *Shankaracharya* in recent times.

Ratnagar writes that Sandiman would fly on his throne and every creature including *jins*, animals and birds were under his control. He credits Sandiman with draining of water of the huge lake that Kashmir had been converted into following the blockade of River Vitasta (Jhelum) at Baramulla by slipping of mountain rocks into the river. Half of Kashmir had been inundated for a thousand years causing huge damages to life and crops. The hapless people on seeing the miracles of Sandiman beseeched him to deliver them of this curse. Sandiman ordered his *jins* to remove the blockade which they did and land became again available for settlement and agriculture. Sandiman left Kashmir after a week's stay. King Narendra insisted that he would accompany him upon which Sandiman left behind three of his companions, Hashak, Jashak and Kanishak to rule Kashmir.

Local belief identifies Sandiman as Prophet Solomon. The description of the event by Ratnagar corresponds to his attributes. One among the greatest Prophets and the youngest son of Prophet David, Solomon succeeded his father as the

ruler of Hebron at the age of 30. Among the powers that God bestowed on him was putting various creatures under his command. He had a massive army whose units included men, *jins* and birds. Winds were subservient to him and carried his throne wherever he wanted to go. He is the builder of the Al-aqsa mosque in Jerusalem whose foundation had been laid by his father.²⁵ Bernier also refers to an old tradition among the Kashmiris indicating Solomon's arrival in the Valley and having got built a small temple on the hill which is still called the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* or the Solomon's Throne.²⁶

It may be of significance to compare the description given by Ratnagar of Sandiman arriving on a flying throne in the company of *jins* with the attributes of Prophet Solomon as given in the Holy Quran:

And unto Solomon (We gave) the wind, whose morning course was a month's journey, and the evening course a month's journey, 34:12; So we made the wind subservient unto him[Solomon], moving gently by his command to wherever he intended, 38:36; And (We gave him) certain of the jinn, who worked before him by permission of his Lord, 34:12; They [*jins*] made for him what he willed, 34:13; And there were gathered together unto Solomon his armies of the jinn and human-kind and of birds, and they were set in battle order, 27:17).

Solomon is believed to have delivered the people of Kashmir from inundation of a thousand years when he ordered the accompanying *jins* to clear the impediment in the flow of the river [Jhelum]. As they obeyed the command, thus goes the legend, the water flowed out and the Valley re-emerged. Since then the shrine on the hill is known as *Takht-i-Sulaiman* (Solomon's Throne)²⁷, the hill as *Koh-i-Sulaiman* and Kashmir as *Bagh-e-Sulaiman*. A common belief attributes the first construction of a place of worship on the hill to Prophet

Solomon. He "is supposed by all good Mussulmans to have taken his stand during the progress of the desiccation of the Valley, carried out by his orders through the means of a spirit or spirits rendered subservient by the Almighty to his will."²⁸ However, in the absence of any scientific evidence (radioactive dating) it is difficult to establish that the stone temple was first erected by him. Anand Koul holds that the ancient shrine was originally built by Sandiman but identifies him as the ruler of Kashmir between 2629 BC and 2565 BC.²⁹

Jesuit Catrou, author of the '*General History of the Mughal Empire*' published in 1708 AD, in order to establish Kashmiris' links with the Jews, refers to the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* as the name of the shrine to be a significant evidence.³⁰ Abul Fazl unequivocally mentions the hill as *Koh-i-Sulaiman*.³¹ "The modern name [*Takht-i-Sulaiman*] of the hill seems to be of fairly long standing, as it is mentioned by Jesuit Catrou and in a slightly altered form (*Koh-i-Sulaiman*) by Abul Fazl."³² Jahangir and his queen, Nur Jahan's excursion to the hill-top and the versified conversation between the couple also establishes that the shrine was known as the *Takht-i-Sulaiman*. Jahangir went up to the summit on an excursion with his wife where she sat to make *halwa* (pudding) for him. On seeing her making pudding, the king extempore recited a verse: *Shakar farosh-e-man paye halwa gari nishast* (My sweet seller is seated to make the pudding). The queen, completing the couplet, replied at once, *Ya'ni ki zer-i-Takht-i-Suliaman pari nishast* (As if a fairy is sitting under the throne of Solomon).³³

The 16th century poet and saint, Baba Dawood Khakhi, in his versified eulogy of Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak titled *Risal-e-Guslia Yusuf Shahi*, composed in 988 H, corresponding to 1581 AD., to commemorate the latter's second ascendancy to throne, describes the origin of Kashmir in the following verses:

Arṣ-e-Kashmiri mubarak chu'n zameen-e-Shaam hast

Mewah daarad neez ba ashjaar-o-anhaar-o-jibaal

Awwalan ma'moor gardanish Sulaiman-e-nabi

Jinyatish bahar-o-kardand bagh-e-purnihaal

(For its fruit, trees, streams and mountains, Kashmir resembles Syria. The land was first settled by Prophet Solomon with the help of *jins*.)³⁴

Mir Saad Ullah Shahabadi in his versified history of Kashmir titled, '*Bagh-e-Sulaiman*' (Solomon's Garden)³⁵, compiled in 1780 AD., also subscribes to the arrival of Solomon in Kashmir, his landing on the hill and delivering the local people of centuries' inundation.³⁶ The earliest extant records indicate Solomon and his architect, Hiram Abiff, had first built the present temple about the same time as completing the Jerusalem Temple."³⁷ Hassan Khuihami³⁸ is of the view that Mehmood Ghazni offered *namaṣ* on the summit of the hill in deference to which Sultan Sikandar did not destroy the ancient temple there. The author of *Wajeeḥ-ul-Tawareekh* too holds that Mehmood came to Kashmir in 398 *Hijra* and stayed here for some days during which he hunted game and also offered midday prayer in the *Koh-i-Sulaiman* Temple.³⁹ However, Ghazni never set foot on the soil of Kashmir as his troops had to return from mountain pass due to the vagaries of weather despite defeating the army of Samgramaraja.

The legend about draining off the lake that Kashmir was, by Solomon has passed down to successive generations. It is narrated that Solomon commanded one of his accompanying *jins* named Kashuf⁴⁰ or Kashif to drain the water of the lake that Kashmir had turned into. Kashif, an Arabic word, means 'uncoverer', 'explorer' and 'discoverer' which is what the Solomon's subordinate is believed to have done – drained off water and

uncovered the Valley of Kashmir. The mid-nineteenth century traveller and author, Godfrey Thomas Vigne⁴¹ alludes to this prevalent belief in Kashmir thus:

The Musalmans [Muslims], as I have elsewhere noticed, say that the draining of Kashmir was performed by the prophet Suliman (Solomon), through the instrumentality of the same Kashuf, who, they say, was a Gin or Deo, and the servant of that monarch [Solomon].⁴²

Hindu temple or a Buddhist *vihara*?

There are different perceptions and beliefs about the origin of the temple. Although visited by Hindus as a *Shaivite* temple, there is also an opinion according to which it was originally a Buddhist worship place built in 220 BC by Jaloka⁴³ when Buddhism was the reigning religion in Kashmir. Some historical references speak about the temple being under the auspices of the Buddhists, who especially revered it, but their presence and relationship to the site was obliterated during the reign of anti-Buddhist Shankravarmana (883-902 AD). Numerous Hindu idols were eventually lugged up the hill and began appearing within the temple itself. These were duly noted by Catrou in the *History of Mughal Empire* in 1708 AD.

Those who argue that the shrine on the hill is a Hindu temple constructed by King Gopaditya (8th AD) of the Gonandiya dynasty have their argument based on Kalhana's account given by him in the *Rajatarangini*.⁴⁴ However, the words used by Kalhana deserve some attention. The exact wording of the verse as rendered into English by Stein read: "After consecrating a [shrine of] *Jyesthesvara* on the Gopa-hill (Gopadri) this wise [king] bestowed the Gopa-Agraharas on Brahmans born in Aryadesa."⁴⁵ As can be observed, Kalhana has used the word 'consecrated' which may or may not mean the same as

constructed or built. The Oxford dictionary gives the meaning of the word 'consecrate' as "set apart as sacred (to); devote to (purpose); sanctify; make or declare sacred; dedicate formally to a religious or divine purpose"⁴⁶

What appears probable is that Gopaditya converted, after repair and modification, an existing structure and consecrated or dedicated it to *Jyesthesvara*. Pandit Anand Koul subscribes to the view that Gopaditya repaired, not constructed, the shrine.⁴⁷ The probability is also supported by Lawrence's quote of later authorities to "agree that the first religious edifice on this commanding site was built by Jaloka, the son of the great Buddhist convert Asoka, about 200 BC".⁴⁸ It is important to recall that Buddhism had been a reigning religion in Kashmir for a millennium⁴⁹ before it was ousted from Kashmir by a revivalist Hinduism. We know of the religion as a flourishing faith in Kashmir during the 2nd and 3rd century BC⁵⁰ - the period around which Jaloka was the king. Also known is that the Buddhist sacred sites, of which there had been many, altogether disappeared once Hinduism made a comeback in Kashmir. A series of Sanskrit chroniclers have generally maintained silence about the existence of the Buddhist shrines in Kashmir even as Hiuen Tsang who visited the Valley in 631 AD counts more than hundred *Bodh Viharas*. Ou-k'ang gives this number as 300.⁵¹ What happened to these *viharas* is not touched upon by the *historians*.

Interestingly, the structural design of the shrine on the hill, including the high raised platform on which it rests, is closer to a pagoda than a typical temple. The architecture does not correspond to any of the famous ancient Hindu shrines of Kashmir like the temples of Martand, Naara Nar, Pandrethan or Awanti Swamin. About these temples, Prem Nath Bazaz observes: "It is not correct to call this Kashmir architecture

Hindu because it differs in certain essentials from the Hindu architecture of India.”⁵² Many writers, historians and travellers hold the view that the ancient structure had been actually a Buddhist shrine. Archibald Constable and Walter Lawrence, to name a few, have explicitly held this belief. Constable describes it as a “Buddhist temple built by Jaloka”⁵³ Lawrence writes about the shrine being sacred to Buddhists and quotes a yellow Lama from Ladakh as having told him much about old Buddhist places in Kashmir and informing him that the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* is still regarded as sacred by Buddhists and is known as *Pus-Pahari*.⁵⁴ Cowley Lambert, writing as far back as in 1877 AD, describes the shrine on the summit of ‘Tacht-i-Suliman’ as “an old Buddhist temple, built, I believe, about 200 BC.”⁵⁵ Professor Georg Buhler, scholar of ancient Indian languages who visited Kashmir in 1875 AD, makes an important observation about the shrine when he writes that “there is no genuine tradition regarding the temple among the Srinagar Brahmans.”⁵⁶

On looking at this ancient shrine what immediately catches one’s attention is its peculiar positioning in respect of the remaining portion of the summit. Normally, the courtyard should have been in the front of the building but in this case the structure is obliquely positioned and it is possible to appreciate that this could be a deliberate attempt to place the shrine in a particular direction irrespective of the dimension of the available area. The ancient shrine is facing eastwards which is a typical feature of a Buddhist *gompa*. According to Buddhist belief the most preferred direction for a *gompa* to face towards is the east.⁵⁷ When we contrast this fact with other ancient Hindu temples in Kashmir like the Martand, the Awantipore and the Pandrethan, the shrine on the summit of the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* hill stands out in disparity so far as its positioning towards the east is concerned. In the words of Stein:

It is certain that the superstructures of the present temple belong to a very late period. But the massive and high base on which this temple is raised, and certain parts of the structure are no doubt of a far earlier date. These may well have formed part of a building which in Kalhana's time, - rightly or wrongly, we have no means to judge, - was looked upon as a shrine of Jyesthesvara erected by King Gopaditya.⁵⁸

The shrine has undergone several changes during the Hindu and Muslim rule in Kashmir. It was repaired by King Laltaditya (697-734 AD)⁵⁹. After Gopaditya and Laltaditya the shrine suffered neglect as the subsequent rulers did not pay attention to it, leading to its dilapidation. After the termination of the Hindu rule, it was repaired by Muslim rulers like Zain-ul-Aabideen (1420-1470 AD) and Sheikh Ghulam Mohiuddin, the penultimate governor during the Sikh rule (1819-1846 AD), after it suffered damages due to earthquake. Hanry Hardy Cole observed two Persian inscriptions engraved on two of the adjacent octagonal sides one of which read, "The architect of this pillar is the supplicant Bihishti.....the fifty-fourth year".⁶⁰

Walter Rupert Lawrence, who was in Kashmir as the Settlement Commissioner during the closing years of the 19th century, also refers to the two Persian inscriptions upon the hinder of the two pillars on the left that stated that the "idol was made by Haji Hushti, a Soukar, in the year 54 of the Samvat or Hindu era while the other stated that he who raised up this idol was Kwaja Rukm, son of Mir Jan."⁶¹ Both inscriptions disappeared during the time of Pratap Singh.⁶² It is possible that the inscriptions (mis)led archaeologist Furguson to believe that the shrine was constructed during the reign of Jahangir, the Mughal king.⁶³ He accuses "bigoted" Aurangzeb of having stopped the construction of the temple.

The statements of Bernier and Catrou, however, "show that as early as beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb the origin and authorship of the temple were lost in the mists of antiquity. They also prove that the temple had already fallen into disuse and ruin; and its construction, therefore, could not have been begun in the reign of Jahangir and stopped by Aurangzeb."⁶⁴

If the hill was known as Gopa-hill and the shrine on its summit as Gopadri as Kalhana writes or as *Takht-i-Sulaiman* as chronicles of Muslim period and account of foreign visitors to Kashmir in the 19th and early 20th century would confirm, how have these names changed to *Shankaracharya*?

It may be pointed out that during the post-Muslim rule in Kashmir commencing with the Sikh reign, the ancient shrine was known in official record as *Takht-i-Sulaiman*. The official maps of that period identify the shrine as such, as is evidenced from the maps of Kashmir reproduced by Stein from survey of 1856-60 published in March 1897 by Survey of India Office, Calcutta⁶⁵ [now Kolkata] or another published by Jhon Walker, Geographer to the Secretary of State for India in Council on August 15th 1867.⁶⁶ Aurel Stein who was in Kashmir at the turn of the 19th century and published his translation of the *Rajatarangini* in 1900 AD, introduces the hill thus:

Starting from its southernmost corner in the immediate vicinity of the city [Srinagar] we come first to the hill popularly known as Takht-i-Sulaiman. Its bold pyramidal form and the old temple which crowns its summit make the hill most conspicuous object in the landscape of Srinagar.⁶⁷

The name change

The name-change is clearly a later day development which, however, does not go into the past beyond mid 19th century. We know that towards the close of the Sikh rule in Kashmir, the

shrine was repaired and a new *Shivalingam* was installed there.⁶⁸ That is the time when the name of the hill and the temple was changed to *Shankaracharya*.⁶⁹ Interestingly, before the Sikh rule in Kashmir there is no evidence to suggest that the hill and the temple were ever known as *Shankaracharya*. The change in the name, however, did not find favour with masses and foreign travellers and historians who visited Kashmir up to as late as the 20th century. They called the hill as the *Takht-i-Sulaiman*. These include several British officers in the employment of the Dogra Maharaja like Walter Lawrence or travellers like G. T. Vigne and William Moorcroft. The latter describes the hill as “the eminence called the Takhti Suliman or Throne of Solomon.”⁷⁰ The Civil & Military Gazette published as late as in 1935 too describes the hill as *Takht-i-Suleiman*.⁷¹ In 1961, the Shankaracharya of Dwarika Peeth visited the temple and installed the image of Adi Shankaracharya⁷² there. Since then, the official patronage for the rechristening of the temple and the hill became more pronounced.

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HISTORY OF A PILGRIMAGE

THE Amarnath cave is a major Shaivite Hindu shrine in Kashmir. It is located in the south Kashmir mountain range, 145 kilometres from Srinagar, at an altitude of 3175 meters. The Hindus identify the shrine as the abode of their god, *Shiva* and his consort, *Parvati*, and arrive in large numbers during the annual *yatra*, trekking an arduous mountain route to have *darshan* of the naturally formed *Shivalingam*. Over the years, the number of pilgrims has swelled from a couple of thousands to several hundred thousand.⁷³

Before the pilgrim surge witnessed in recent years, not many people in India knew about the Amarnath *yatra*. The pilgrimage used to be a low key affair with almost nominal local participation as most of the few hundred pilgrims came from different parts of India, chiefly from its Plains. Today, it is a household name among its majority Hindu population who believe the pilgrimage dates back to thousands of years although the chronicles of Kashmir do not seem in accord with this belief.

The oldest available historical account of Kashmir, the *Rajataragini*,⁷⁴ does not mention the word Amarnath even once in the entire flow of its eight *Tarangas* comprising 7826 odd verses. The possible references one could allude to are verses vii 183, 185; viii 506, 590, 729, 756 and 1124. However, these talk about Amaresvara shrine whose geographical description given by Kalhana himself does not even remotely correspond to that of the now famous *tirtha* of Amarnath. On the contrary, the description and the site of the shrine given in the *Rajatarangini* establish that the references are to a Hindu shrine once situated in the outskirts of the capital city of Srinagar. There is only one verse, i 267, in the celebrated chronicle referring to a shrine up in the mountains of Kashmir without giving any sense of its geographical location or direction or naming it categorically as Amarnath shrine.

Is Amaresvara the present Amarnath?

Before discussing the scanty reference (verse, i 267) let us first see what other verses in the *Rajatarangini* mention about Amaresvara.

Verse 183 (Book vii) reads:

She [Queen Suryamati] founded also two Mathas by the side of [the shrine of] Vijayesa and Amaresa under the name of her brother Sillana and of her husband [respectively].

Verse 185 of the same Book reads:

She also granted under her husband's name Agraharas at Amaresvara, and arranged for the construction of Trisulas, Banalingas and other [sacred emblems].

Verse 506 of Book viii reads:

Garga made Suresvari, the site of Amresa and the confluence of the Vitasta and Sindhu witness the defeat of the royal troops.

Verses 590, 756 and 1124 of Book viii, respectively read:

When then at last the king's troops marched out to fight, Garga as before caused a slaughter of soldiers at Amaresvara,

The lord of the Gate together with the princes stood at Amaresa, the chief justice [and other] ministers in the vicinity of Rajanavatika

Prthvihara, accompanied by Bhiksu, proceeded to his own seat (upavesana), while the king marched out to Amaresvara to meet Mallakostha.

Aurel Stein, who translated the *Rajatarangini* into English, wrote a comprehensive commentary on the chronicle and brought it to light for a wider readership in the 19th century, in his annotations on the above verses writes:

It is probable that Kalhana refers here (verse 183) and in verse 185 under the name of Amresa or Amaresvara to a shrine situated at the site now marked by the village of Amburher, about four miles to the North of Srinagar on the road towards the Sind Valley. This place, the modern name is clearly derived from Amaresvara (comp. Kother, Kapatesvara; Jyether, Jythesvara, Note C, i. 124) is certainly meant in viii. 506, 590, 729, 756, 1124. All these passages describe fights in the immediate vicinity of Srinagar. It is also mentioned as Amarespura by Jonar. [Jonaraja] 890.⁷⁵

Stein further writes:

P. Sahibram in his Tirthas gives correctly Amaresvara as the old name of the village, and refers to an Amaresvara Linga worshiped there. On a visit paid to the place in June, 1895, I found considerable remains of an old temple built into the Ziarat of Farrukhzad Sahib. A little to the West of the latter, on the shore of the Ancha'r lake, are two Nagas, one of which, named Ganga, is still annually visited by the pilgrims proceeding to the Tirthas of Mount Haramukta.

The now popular Tirtha of Amarnath (Ks. Amburnath) situated at a great altitude above the source of the Lidr can scarcely be meant in our passages, as its situation would render the erection of a Matha by the side of the sacred image quite impossible.⁷⁶

Having dealt with the location of the shrine of Amaresvara or Amaresa as given in verses 183, 185 (vii) and 506, 590, 729, 756 and 1124 (viii), let us now revert to the one and the only verse (267; i) in the *Rajatarangini* giving a clue to the shrine of Amresvara being "on a far-off mountain".

The verse reads:

The lake of dazzling whiteness [resembling] a sea of milk, which he created [for himself as residence] on a far-off mountain, is to the present day seen by people on the pilgrimage to Amaresvara.⁷⁷

The verse is a part of the account Kalhana gives about virtuous and beautiful Candralekha, the Naga wife of a Brahman, on whom an evil eye was cast by King Nara who, after failing in persuading her to submit to his lust, tried to forcibly lift her from the house of her husband. The couple escaped and approached the lord of Nagas who "rose blind with fury from his pool" and "burned the king and his town in a rain of fearful thunderbolts".⁷⁸

Nara, we are told, was the sixth king of the Gonanda dynasty that ruled Kashmir immediately before the ascendancy of the ferocious Mihirakula who seized the throne in 528 AD.

Kalhana speaks about a 'dazzling lake' which is sought to be identified with lake Sheeshnag en-route the Amarnath cave. However, he does not give any account of the shrine. Stein, who wrote *The Ancient Geography of Kashmir* primarily on the basis of information provided by the *Rajatarangini* and other available old

sources on Hindu shrines, too does not mention the Amarnath Cave among the ancient shrines even as he has described in considerable detail other Hindu *tirthas* of Kashmir. The absence - both in the *Rajatarangini* and the *Nilamata Purana*- of an explicit mention of the Amarnath cave, widely revered by Hindus today, suggests that the *yatra* either did not exist in the ancient times or enjoyed no such celebrity as it does now. In the words of Stein:

In old times this Tirtha can scarcely have claimed such importance, if we may judge from the scanty reference made to it in the *Nilmata* (sl.1324), and in the *Rajat*.⁷⁹

‘Scanty reference’

There, however, is some difficulty in accepting Stein’s ‘scanty reference’ in the *Nilamata Purana* as alluding to the Amarnath shrine. The *shaloka* 1324 that he refers to reads:

By bathing on the dark 14th after reaching the source of the Samara, one is freed from all the sins and is honoured in the world of Rudra.

This reference can scarcely be taken as alluding to the present Amarnath shrine as it talks about the 14th dark night or *Krishan Chaturdashi*. It is reasonable to assume that the *shaloka* is not about the pilgrimage of Amarnath because the most auspicious day of having a *darshan* of Amarnath (Shiva) falls on Raksha Bandhan (*Poornima*) day which falls in *Shukalpaksh* (full moon) and not on the dark night.⁸⁰

It is important to appreciate that the only hypothetical reference point in Kalhana’s *Rajatarangini* (Verse (267, i) to the present Amarnath cave shrine is a “lake of dazzling whiteness in the far-off mountain”. However, it does not make a reader any wiser about the direction in which the lake or the mountain is located with respect to the geography of Kashmir.

It is only Aurel Stein who, as late as in the concluding years of the 19th century, interprets the lake as being Sheeshnag en-route the present day Amarnath shrine. The mention of a lake in a far-off mountain in respect of the pilgrimage to Amaresvara in Verse 267, i leads him to assume that it is the present Amarnath cave shrine. There are as many as nine verses (including 267, i) in the *Rajatarangini* about Amaresvara or Amaresa shrine and given the geographical location described by the chronicler himself, Stein is constrained in respect of eight references to conclude that the shrine is not the one located in the high mountains in south Kashmir.

The reference points

If the lake and the mountain were the only factors to distinguish one verse from the other eight in so far as the location of the shrine is concerned, then these two reference points are not exclusive to the Amarnath shrine. As we shall see in the succeeding paragraphs, lake and mountain are reference points to another Hindu shrine also in south Kashmir where a 14th century Muslim ruler's pilgrimage is recorded in history, besides the arrival of pilgrims from other areas.

Stein is evidently led to the conclusion by description of the pilgrim route to the Amarnath shrine given in the *Amaranathamahatyma* as ascending the eastern branch of the Lidder River. However, we have already seen that no ancient chronicle - whether the 6th-8th century *NilmataPurana* or the 12th century *Rajatarangini* - mentions the name Amarnath. It then raises the question about the period in which the *Amaranathamahatyma* was written.

The logical conclusion is that since the name Amarnath was not known till the 12th century the *Amaranathamahatyma* may have been composed after this period. As we go further into the

14th century when Jonaraja and Srivara recorded their chronicles we observe that they too were not familiar with a shrine by the name of Amarnath.⁸¹ About the *mahatymas*, Stein observes that there is "the evidence of concrete cases to show that not only the route of pilgrimage, but the very site of a Tirtha has sometimes been changed in comparatively recent times."⁸² The *mahatymas* are the texts that put forth legends relating to a particular shrine, the spiritual and other benefits to be derived from visiting it and the special rites to be gone through by the pilgrims at various stages of the itinerary.

It would be curious to read Stein's observation in relation to the visit of the 14th century Muslim ruler to the 'lake and a mountain shrine' in south Kashmir.

Visit that never was

There is no mention in Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini* of Zain-ul-Aabideen having visited the Amarnath cave in so far as the available Sanskrit text of his chronicle or its English translations by Srikanth Koul or J. C. Dutt are concerned. Both Koul and Dutt have dwelt on his benevolent relations towards his Hindu subjects and his participation in their festivals but there is no reference to his pilgrimage to the Amarnath cave shrine. Similarly, one does not find any allusion to such a visit in the later chronicles and works like G. M. D. Sufi's *Kashir*, Muhibbul Hassan's *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, P. N. K. Bamzai's *A History of Kashmir* or Gwasha Lal Koul's *Kashmir Then and Now*. R. K. Parmu is the only exception who echoes Stein's allusion to suggest that Zain-ul-Aabideen had undertaken the pilgrimage to the Amarnath *tirtha*.⁸³

Jonaraja who was tasked by Zain-ul-Aabideen to carry forward chronicling Kashmir two hundred years after Kalhana's death, himself passed away during the reign of the King. The job

was then assigned to his disciple, Srivara who carried it forward. In his account titled, *Jainatarangini*, Srivara mentions in detail Zain-ul-Abideen's pilgrimage to the Kumarsara Lake on the *Naubandhana* pilgrimage during the full moon in the 39th year of his life where he writes the King saw Vishnu's foot mark.⁸⁴ The Kumarsara is not the Sheeshnag en-route the Amarnath cave.⁸⁵

Earliest reference

The earliest unambiguous allusion to the present Amarnath shrine is found at the fall of the 16th century in the *Rajavalipataka* of Sukha Pandit where he records the Mughal *Subedar* of Kashmir, Yusuf Khan, narrating the peculiarities of Kashmir and informing his king, Akbar, that "There is the celebrated god Amresvara, the living snow which grows and diminishes in the bright and the dark fortnights."⁸⁶ The reference further gets amplified by Abul Fazl and we come across, for the first time, the name of the shrine as *Amernaut* in the *Ain-e-Akbari* as a "shrine of great veneration"⁸⁷. Abul Fazl identifies the location of the cave and talks about increasing and waning of the ice *lingam* in relation to the increasing and decreasing size of the moon. He writes:

Between great Tibbet and this pergunnah [Dachhinparah] is a cave, in which is sometimes to be seen an image, in ice, called Amernaut, and which is held in great veneration. The image makes its appearance after the following manner: two days before the, new moon, there appears, in the cave, a bubble of ice, which increases in size every day till the fifteenth day, at which time it is an ell or more in height⁸⁸; then, as the moon decreases, the image also gradually diminishes, till at last no vestige of it remains. This congealment the Hindoos regard as the image of Mahadeo, and believe that, by worshipping it, their desires will be accomplished."⁸⁹

During the 19th century, precisely the Sikh rule (1819-46 AD), we see Vigne clearly talking about "ceremonies at the cave of Umar Nath" taking place "on the 15th of the Hindu month Sawan" and identifying snowy mountains, from which rattles down the Lidur, on way to the shrine.⁹⁰

In recent years, the Amaranth *yatra* came into sharp focus, first when a snow blizzard struck the pilgrimage trek in 1996 and took a toll of over 250 pilgrims and porters, and later by a series of alleged militant attacks on pilgrims in the years 2000, 2001 and 2002. The attack in 2000 claimed 31 lives including local civilians and policemen who were part of the support system for the pilgrimage. The armed militant groups in Kashmir fighting Indian forces had earlier put a ban on the pilgrimage resulting in widespread anger among the Hindu majority of India. The attacks were "used to generate communal chauvinism elsewhere; the year 2000 tragedy was followed by attacks on Muslims in Ahmedabad."⁹¹ The incidents of 1996 and 2000 were investigated by the Government-appointed Nitish Sengupta Inquiry Commission and Lieutenant General J. R. Mukherjee Inquiry Committee⁹², respectively. While the report of the former was made public the latter did not see the light of the day except for some of its recommendations regarding the conduct of the *yatra* finding way into some media reports.

Politicization of *Yatra*

For the last several years, the pilgrimage has been in news, unfortunately, for wrong reasons, thanks to an ultra-Hindu former Governor of Jammu & Kashmir who wanted to rewrite Kashmir's history according to his misplaced ideas. Politicising of the pilgrimage brought it in the centre of controversy when S. K. Sinha⁹³ announced extension in duration of the annual pilgrimage against the government stand on the issue. As head

of the newly constituted autonomous Shri Amarnathji Shrine Board (SASB)⁹⁴ to manage the affairs of the *yatra*, he “arm-twisted the State government”⁹⁵ to toe his line and announced the extension of the pilgrimage period to two months instead of a previously much shorter duration of a fortnight. Sinha not only initiated the creation of the Board by law but also had a provision included in it to make the Governor its chairman.⁹⁶ As Governor, he became infamous for exceeding his brief and had “even drawn flak from no less a person than the President of India. His involvement in the alleged tampering with the *Shivalingam* had pitted him against the custodian of the holy mace, Mahant Deepinder Giri”.⁹⁷

In the year 2006, the SASB under Sinha was involved in a huge controversy about an artificial *shivalingam* at the Amarnath shrine. The natural ice *lingam* was very small at the onset of the *yatra* and the Board, under the guise of keeping the cave cool, dumped loads of dry ice right over the original *shivalingam* which led to a major controversy.⁹⁸ Environmentalists and people concerned about the negative fallout on the fragile eco-system along the cave route due to unregulated and increased flow of pilgrims spoke against the move.⁹⁹ The State Government looked the other way as the SASB claimed exclusive rights over the conduct of the pilgrimage and appeared caring less about serious environmental issues. Every year, since the extended duration of the *yatra* and the consequent increased pilgrim inflow, media reports and eyewitness account have been talking about environmental vandalism in the area. A report pertaining to the year 2011 sounded an alarm:

Heaps of empty plastic bottles, stray food wrappers and human excreta...The mountain streams, springs and dense forests leading to the Amarnath cave shrine in Jammu and

Kashmir are these days dotted with filth, a stinking reminder of the raw deal to nature in man's quest for faith.¹⁰⁰

Serious concern over pilgrims causing harm to Kashmir's fragile environment was seconded by a revered Hindu religious head, Puri Shankaracharya Adhokshajanand Teerth Maharaj, who, after returning from the *yatra* on 9 July 2012, expressed grave concern over the harm to ecology caused by 'quintals' of polythene littered by pilgrims along the Amarnath Yatra track. He spoke about "several problems there" that "cannot be blamed on others."¹⁰¹

Far from taken seriously, these concerns were dismissed as communal propaganda by a section of the people who introduced or were influenced by jingoism brought into the annual ritual. The controversy surrounding the pilgrimage came handy for the right wing Hindu groups in India to play communal politics. Organisations like the *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* organised large pilgrim groups, marketing the *yatra* as a kind of counter-terrorist enterprise¹⁰² to defeat separatist sentiments of Kashmiris. Swami Agnivesh went to the extent of describing the fillip given to the pilgrimage by these elements as religious terrorism. In his words:

[The]Amarnath Yatra has given flip to religious hysteria and we call it religious terrorism ... Amarnath Yatra is a handy tool for SASB and Hindu extremists to exploit the sentiments of millions of Hindus across the country.¹⁰³

Agnivesh described the *yatra* as a threat to environment in Kashmir and called for drastic curtailment in its duration and in the number of pilgrims. He expressed concern at the rapid pace the glaciers in Kashmir were melting. Swami told the media:

The fragile environment in Kashmir has been put at stake and no steps are being taken to save the ecology in Kashmir. Yatra has become a threat to environment and its

impact is hazardous... Experts are concerned about changes occurring in the Kolahoi glacier, Kashmir's only permanent water source that has lost between 15 to 18 percent of its total volume in the past four decades. If something is not immediately done there may be nothing left for the future generations.¹⁰⁴

Some Hindu political parties and groups took divergent stances on environmental issues of similar nature connected with the Amarnath shrine in Kashmir and to other high mountain shrines in India. The *Bhartiya Janata Party* and its sister organizations had no qualms about putting a restriction on the number of pilgrims to the Gangotri, the Yamunotri and the Kedarnath temples in the Garwal Himalayas in north-India for environmental reasons. In the same breath, however, they dismissed any voice seeking, for identical reasons, any restriction on the number of pilgrims to the Amarnath shrine as blasphemous and an assault on Hinduism.

Around the same time the Amarnath land controversy arose in the year 2008, the *Bhartiya Janata Party*-led Government in Uttarakhand, in what was described as a significant step, imposed restriction on the number of pilgrims going to the Gangotri, the Yamunotri and the Kedarnath shrines to "stop further degradation of the Gaumukh and other glaciers, the origin of the Ganga".¹⁰⁵ A report in *The Tribune* about restrictions on the flow of pilgrims to the shrines in the Garwal Himalayas exposed the radical Hindu forces fighting tooth and nail any suggestion to limit the number of pilgrims to the Amarnath shrine:

With disturbing reports about [the] rapid shrinking of [the] Gangotri glacier over the years and presence of ever increasing number of humans in the area, the government had been contemplating measures to control the human presence in the highly ecologically sensitive region. Already environmentalists in the past years were pressing the

authorities to restrict the number of persons going towards the Gaumukh glacier.

It was a tough decision for the BJP government, since any restriction imposed on going towards the Gaumukh was considered sensitive due to the religious sentiments of the Hindus. However, [the] Uttarakhand Chief Minister Maj. Gen. BC Khanduri (retd) decided to take a stand and imposed restrictions this year... Perturbed by a large number of pilgrims, who were involved in running 'Langar' (community kitchens) and leaving behind all kinds of garbage, last year, [the] Forest Department officials did not allow them to run it.¹⁰⁶

A 'significant step' to protect environment in Uttarakhand became 'an assault on Hinduism' when it was desired to be taken in Kashmir for identical reasons!

Land transfer row

Things came to a pass in the year 2008 when under the constant pressure from S. K. Sinha the J&K Government issued an order transferring 39.88 hectares (100 acres) of forest land to the SASB to construct facilities for pilgrims in the ecologically sensitive area.¹⁰⁷ Although Sinha dismissed any suggestion of pressurising the government to allot land to SASB, his gubernatorial position made the cabinet feel "a sense of obligation to comply with the SASB's request for land".¹⁰⁸ A senior bureaucrat, then heading the Department of General Administration, later confided privately that those days Sinha's annoyingly persistent reminders to the State Government were restricted to the transfer of forest land to SASB and out of turn promotion to one of his blue eyed boys posted in the Raj Bhawan to look after his publicity.

An extended *yatra* was seen in Kashmir as clashing with the age-old tradition related with the pilgrimage and fraught with

communal friction. Apart from civil society and groups working on environmental issues raising an alarm on possible impact of pilgrim surge on the eco-fragile route of the pilgrimage, Mahant Deepinder Giri entered into a verbal spat with the SASB on the question of religious sanctity of prolonging the period of the *yatra*. The uncontrolled rush of pilgrims over an extended period also had a negative impact on the ice *shivalingam* that started melting away before the conclusion of the pilgrimage. The conduction of body heat of the huge crowds at the formation was singled out as the main reason for its early melting.¹⁰⁹ The absence of the ice stalagmite adversely impacted the spirit of visiting pilgrims who travelled thousands of kilometres to have a glimpse of it. In 2011, the otherwise well-formed *lingam* completely melted away ten days before the conclusion of the *yatra*. The premature melting was attributed to heat produced inside the cave due to the presence of a record number of pilgrims.¹¹⁰ At the height of the *yatra* in the first half of July, about 25,000 pilgrims were visiting the shrine each day, leading to dangerous overcrowding in the high mountain paths. The SASB drew flak for not restricting the daily pilgrims to the number recommended by the Nitish Sengupta Committee.¹¹¹

The Nitish Sengupta Committee had recommended that there should not be more than 10,000 pilgrims at a time on the high ranges, namely the 32 kilometer long stretch between Chandanwari and the cave.¹¹² "An astounding six lakh people have entered the holy cave in less than a month. That worked out to about 13 *yatris* entering and leaving the cave every minute, twenty four hours a day, 30 days a month, non stop."¹¹³ An Asia News International (ANI) story gave a chilling account of the 'vengeance against environment' in the name of faith. The story contradicted those who refuse to see the adverse effect the *yatra* was causing on environment. There is a slight error in the story

in so far as it mentions Tangmarg where actually Sonamarg is meant. Here goes in full the story titled '*Amarnath Yatra: An environmental disaster in making.*'

Srinagar, Aug. 8 (ANI): The Amarnath Shiv Lingam has melted once again, ten days before the yatra has ended officially. No one should be surprised or shocked. For the amount of pressure that the shrine board puts on the cave, it's a miracle the lingam lasted this long.

Consider the numbers. This year has seen the highest number of devotees visiting Amarnath. An astounding six lakh people have entered the holy cave in less than a month. That works out to about 13 yatris entering and leaving the cave every minute, twenty four hours a day, 30 days a month, non stop.

Given that the holy cave is open for darshan for only about 12 hours a day, the actual pressure on the Holy shrine are far higher. One fails to understand why the number of devotees to the holy shrine isn't regulated to more manageable levels, to improve the over all experience for the pilgrims and reduce the massive carbon foot print of the annual pilgrimage.

Such is the scale of the yatra, that at it's peak, the two base camps at Tangmarg and Pahalgam, look like squalid refugee camps with thousands of tents pitched across miles of once green meadows.

The gigantic numbers directly reflect on the facilities provided to the yatries. There's a lack of toilets and a lot of pilgrims end up relieving themselves into the rivers passing by the base camps.

Furthermore a lack of a proper waste disposal system in both the camps and along the routes to the cave means that the whole area is littered with plastic bottles, wrappers and other non-biodegradable pollutants, much longer after the yatra is over.

The sensitive ecologies of the Tangmarg and Pahalgam Valley systems take much of the pollution onslaught year after year, without repair or rescue. This onslaught was documented in a 37-page report released by The Jammu and Kashmir State Pollution Control Board (JKSPCB) in 2006.

The report expressed concern over not regulating the yatra in a manner that protects the environment. It specifically pointed out that the situation in Pahalgam, the main base camp of the yatra, was alarming and called for immediate measures to protect the sensitive ecology of the Pahalgam Valley.

Instead of acting on the recommendations and reducing the number of pilgrims to the Holy cave, the Shri Amarnath Shrine Board, the administrative body overseeing the yatra, responded with increasing the number of pilgrims to the cave, not only endangering the ecology but also endangering the Holy cave itself.

The environmental apathy of the shrine board shines through. Such is the callousness of the Shrine Board that, when on July 22nd, the Shrine Board set up a Sub-Committee to advise the board regarding the duration and schedule of the Yatra from 2012 onwards, not even a single environmentalist was nominated to the six member committee that will be chaired by Sri Sri Ravi Shankar.

The board in pursuing its single point agenda of increasing the scale of the yatra seems to be completely ignoring the environmental cost of the mammoth exercise to the sensitive ecology that enables the journey, or the religious sentiments of the pilgrims that undertake this arduous pilgrimage. In a major scandal in 2006, the shrine board was alleged to have planted a fake lingam in the cave after the stalagmite had completely melted away.

The government also has played a part in converting the holy pilgrimage into an environmental disaster. In the absence of clear Government guidelines on the number

of pilgrims that the twin route can sustain, the board has been consistently pushing up the number of pilgrims that can make the pilgrimage, escalating the damage to the two ecologically sensitive routes.

The government hasn't even bothered to conduct a proper scientific survey of the two routes to assess the annual carrying capacity the Lidder and Tangmarg ecosystems that would serve as reliable and scientific indicators towards arriving at a safe annual pilgrim number.

The state government is guilty of not taking a strong environmental position on the issue for fear of a right wing political back lash. While there is quiet recognition of the sad fact that such recklessness will eventually lead to irreparable harm to the Holy cave and its surrounding ecology, there is little reflection of that anguish in terms of policy willingness to prevent the damage in time.

Right wing groups politicise the Yatra to an extent that they see it as a point scoring system in the larger Kashmir issue narrative. Several langars (community kitchens) along the yatra route in fact play audio CD's that exhort the pilgrims to take back 'Mother Kashmir from the invaders' and 'reclaim the Kashmiri territory into the Indian fold!' While there is no clarity about the source of such propaganda, there is no confusing the extreme right wing tone and tenor of the message even as the Shrine Board, instituted to further the cause of the yatra, has ended up as an instrument of appeasement to these right wing groups, the state government is unwilling to step on any toes in a political environment that is charged with religious overtones. The holy cave, the pilgrims that throng it and the ecology that makes the yatra possible sustain the protracted damage of the politicking.¹¹⁴

The early melting of the *lingam* was been witnessed many times since the annual pilgrim surge. In 2007, the *lingam* melted

away by 2 July and in 2010 by 30 July. Earlier, when the duration of the *yatra* was adhered to strictly according to the tradition, the disappearance of the *lingam* during the *yatra* period was unknown. The extension in the period of the pilgrimage was decided obviously by negating old tradition and local wisdom. Mahant Deepinder Giri favoured reducing the duration of the *yatra* and said that as per the Hindu mythology it should begin from 22 July. He wondered why the *yatra* was started before the scheduled time and expressed dismay over pilgrims returning disappointed without having a glimpse of the *Shivlingam*:

Once you start [the] Yatra before its due date, this thing [melting of the Shivlingam] is bound to happen. Everything has its own time and I appeal the government to review its decision and curtail the period of [the] Amarnath Yatra.¹¹⁵

Politicisation of the pilgrimage and jingoism entering the discourse on it in recent years has reduced the Nitish Sen Committee-recommended limit on number of pilgrims to a joke. The police and other government forces personnel detailed on duty *enroute* the cave shrine facilitate unregulated rush of pilgrims either for pecuniary benefits or in the belief of doing a religious duty.¹¹⁶ The pilgrims, on their part, throw to the winds any precautionary measures they are asked to take while embarking upon the high altitude arduous trek resulting, at times, in unfortunate consequences.

A group of doctors tasked to find reasons for large number of pilgrim deaths in 2012 reported that most of the victims were unfit and had fudged their medical certificates.¹¹⁷ The 1996 snowstorm, taking a heavy toll of pilgrims and personnel of the support system, was a direct consequence of ignoring precautionary measures. Likewise, in the year 2012, as many as 89 pilgrims died *enroute* the cave shrine due to medical reasons.¹¹⁸ In the preceding year, the death toll was 106.

Duration of the *yatra*

Historically, the pilgrimage was conducted in a matter of fortnight. During the Dogra rule (1846-1947 AD) when the cave shrine was discovered/re-discovered, the pilgrimage would start in the first week of August or the last week of July, depending on the *Shrawan Purnmashi*, the night of the full moon. The annual schedule was issued by the management of the pilgrimage which announced the start of the *yatra* from Srinagar with different halting stages en-route the cave shrine. According to this schedule, on the first day, the *chhari* would leave *akhara* in Srinagar to visit the Shankaracharya temple for *puja* and then return to the *akhara*. On the second day, a similar visit would be undertaken to Hari Parbat temple. After usual *puja* at the *akhara* the next day, the pilgrimage would start from Srinagar in the evening. The first night stopover would be at Pampore, with the subsequent night halts at Bijbihara, Mattan, Aishmuqam, Pahalgam, Chandanwari, Wavjan and Panchtarni. From there, the last segment of the pilgrimage would be the arrival and *darshan* at the cave shrine and return to Pahalgam which would take four days where the *yatra* would disperse.

The fortnight-long pilgrimage schedule was followed all through the years and decades as is evident from the archival record pertaining to the last century. The *yatra* schedule issued by Swami Shivratananand Sarwasati, Mahant Chhari Sri Amarnath Ji, in the year 1929, establishes the practice and tradition of a short duration *Amarnath Yatra*. That year, the pilgrimage started from Srinagar on 9 August and concluded at the cave shrine with *darshan* on 20 August. In the year 1930, the pilgrimage, commencing on 30 July from Dashnami Akhara in Srinagar, reached the cave shrine for *darshan* on 10 August and undertook the return journey the same day. Likewise, in 1931, the *yatra* from Srinagar began on 18 August and reached the cave shrine

ten days later. The 1943 *yatra* culminated in 12 days beginning from Srinagar on 5 August. In a public notice issued by the then Governor of Kashmir, the pilgrims were informed that the *yatra* as per "ancient tradition"¹¹⁹ would commence on 5 August from Srinagar and, after halts at various points, reach Pahalgam on 10 August. The notice further elaborated that onward mountain trek from Pahalgam would commence on 12 August and conclude at the cave shrine on 15 August. It further announced that the *chhari* would return to Pahalgam on 17 August. In the year 1960, the *yatra* began on 28 July and *darshan* at Amarnath cave was held on 7 August with pilgrims undertaking return journey the same day. These *yatra* schedules establish the history of a short duration Amarnath pilgrimage as against the extended period decided by the SASB under S. K. Sinha.

The transfer of land to the Shri Amarnathji Shrine Board coupled with its decision to extend the *yatra* resulted in an agitation across Kashmir unlike any before. The entire Valley rose in revolt against the government and a prolonged agitation saw the youth of Kashmir starting the now famous *Ragda*¹²⁰ dance of resistance against, what they called Indian occupation. In the face of widespread protests the Government had to revoke the land transfer order¹²¹ but not before 60 Muslim protesters were killed in firing by police and paramilitary forces. Sinha drew a lot of criticism for vitiating the atmosphere in Kashmir and outside. The agitation also saw his unceremonious exit from Kashmir, *albeit* on his completing the term of office in 2008.

The land controversy erupted when Sinha's spokesperson, through a written statement on 3 June 2008, made public the transfer of land and within a fortnight the Governor's Principal Secretary and Chief Executive Officer SASB declared that the land transfer to the Board was permanent. Both, pro-India

political parties and separatist organisations in Kashmir called for immediate cancellation of the land transfer order. Masses in Kashmir came out on streets against the government decision and demanded its immediate revocation. The *National Conference* leader, Omar Abdullah, described mass protests as "pure nationalism" and not directed against the *yatra*.¹²² In retaliation, the Hindu majority of Jammu also jumped into the fray and the *Bhartiya Janata Party's* state chief threatened an economic blockade of Kashmir if the land allotment order was revoked.¹²³ The threat was implemented within 24 hours when on 24 June 2008 the party declared blockade of Kashmir and the movement of vehicles, mostly carrying essentials to the Valley, was stopped at Nagrota, 14 kilometres ahead of Jammu city.

The controversy was further fuelled by Hindu religious leader Sri Sri Ravi Shankar who said that 800 kanals of land transferred to the SASB were not enough to accommodate lakhs of pilgrims and that it was only a beginning.¹²⁴ On 29 June, following the exit of Sinha as Governor and appointment of N. N. Vohra as his successor, the SASB surrendered its claim over the land as the State Government offered to make arrangements for the *yatra*. On the following day, the *Shri Amarnath Sangarsh Samiti* (SASS) was formed at Jammu to spearhead agitation against the SASB decision. On 2 July, different pro-Hindu political parties announced economic blockade of Kashmir disallowing essentials from different parts of India to be transported to the Valley. The newly formed SASS extended support to the blockade and called for a separate state of Jammu. The political situation took a major turn when in the wake of withdrawing of support by the coalition partner, the *People's Democratic Party*, the Ghulam Nabi Azad led State Government lost majority and resigned on 7 July, paving way for imposition of the Governor's Rule.

In the meanwhile, the economic blockade of Kashmir, imposed by Hindu supremacist parties of Jammu, resulted in severe shortage of food items and medicines including life saving drugs. Shortage of baby food was especially highlighted by local media. Incidents of arson and loot against Muslims in the Jammu province also took place. On 11 August, widespread protests against the blockade in Kashmir turned into a massive procession which set out for Muzaffarabad in Pakistan Administered Kashmir across the Line of Control. The protesters said if the Jammu road was blocked for them they would seek to open the Muzaffarabad road that connects the Valley with Pakistan Administered Kashmir. The Indian paramilitary forces and police did not allow protesters beyond Uri in north Kashmir where eight of them including a prominent pro-independence leader, Sheikh Abdul Aziz, were killed in firing. The next day, 20 more protesters were shot dead by government forces across Kashmir.

On 31 August, the Governor's Administration reached an agreement with the agitating SASS and set aside the controversial 800 kanals¹²⁵ land for use by the SASB during the period of annual *yatra* without changing the proprietary status, title or ownership of the portion of forest land. Among other things conceding to the SASB, it allowed construction of temporary pre-fabricated accommodation and toilet facilities, establishment of tented accommodation and setting up of shops and *langars* or community kitchens on the land.¹²⁶

Show of strength

Ever since it was hit by controversy, the Amarnath pilgrimage has transformed from a religious ritual into a show of strength by radical Hindus in India and the government which flexes its security muscle and resources to ensure its smooth conduct. As late as up to the middle of the 20th century, pilgrims,

'in hundreds'¹²⁷ would arrive from India for the annual ritual. Their number has massively increased from 19,578 in 1980 to 630,000 in 2012.¹²⁸ This flies in the face of the Nitish Sengupta Committee recommendations on regulating the flow of pilgrims into an ecologically fragile area. The unregulated flow has drawn flak from, besides environmentalists, some circles even within Hindus. The harshest criticism came from social activist Swami Agnivesh who described it as 'religious deception'.¹²⁹

Following the armed resistance against Indian rule over Kashmir starting in the year 1989, the pilgrimage is seen as being used for purposes beyond religious. It has become the Indian State's political project in Kashmir influencing, patronising and covertly financing the pilgrimage for Hindus, turning the *yatra*, what Gautam Navlakha believes, into a jingoistic exercise:

Since the Indian State has promoted the Amarnath pilgrimage as patriotic duty, something that would boost the morale of Indian troops fighting the enemy, no one should have any doubt that Amarnath pilgrimage serves a political purpose. Thus, pilgrimage which is a matter of conviction and piety stands transformed into a jingoistic exercise.¹³⁰

Navlakha could not have found better support for his argument than from the Government of India itself. The following passage from the Press Information Bureau handout, that he quoted in a write-up, is a classic example of the pilgrimage being politicised:

Yearning for *moksha* can move the devotees to the challenging heights of Kashmir and will be a fitting gesture of solidarity with our valiant soldiers who have been fighting the enemy to defend our borders.¹³¹

The *yatra* is increasingly being used by Indian right wing groups for point-scoring in the larger political narrative

surrounding Kashmir. The Asia News International (ANI) in one of its news reports described the situation thus:

Several *langars* along the *yatra* route in fact play audio CDs that exhort the pilgrims to take back 'Mother Kashmir from the invaders and 'reclaim the Kashmiri territory into the Indian fold!' While there is no clarity about the source of such propaganda, there is no confusing the extreme right wing tone and tenor of the message even as the Shrine Board, instituted to further the cause of the *yatra*, has ended up as an instrument of appeasement to these right wing groups, the state government is unwilling to step on any toes in a political environment that is charged with religious overtones.¹³²

In the aftermath of public uprising in Kashmir, the *yatra* resulted in an acute annual unease and inconvenience for local population as the Government put severest restrictions on their movement especially on the twin routes of Pahalgam and Sonamarg to the cave shrine. People living along these routes were subjected to siege and alleged indignities besides frequent body and house searches. Two decades later, the harassment did not ebb and reports about local shopkeepers, ponywallas or cab drivers being thrashed by para-military personnel continue to pour in.¹³³ The two tourist spots remain almost out of bounds for the local people for better part of the year and at one point in time the State Government even issued circular to educational institutions asking them not to send children on excursion to Pahalgam and Sonamarg while the *yatra* was on. Bordering apartheid practices, the Kashmiris as a whole were asked in 2013 to obtain permits for visiting the two places even as swarms of Amarnath pilgrims were allowed easy passage.¹³⁴ For several years after 1989, educational institutions in these areas, including the Degree College Anantnag which was turned into a pilgrims' camp, would remain closed during the period of the *yatra*.¹³⁵

Mixing of fanatics with genuine pilgrims added to the woes of local population. In 1996, a bomb was hurled at Khanabal from a bus carrying pilgrims leading to the death of two unsuspecting pedestrians.¹³⁶ Thanks to these fanatics, the *yatra* has turned from a purely religious ritual into, sort of, a march of a victorious people into an enemy land. Every year, there are incidents reported in the media of pilgrims picking up quarrels with local people resulting in ugly incidents.

Yesterday's violence¹³⁷ in the context of the Shri Amarnath Yatra reminds me of an opinion piece I wrote for this same paper about a decade ago. It began by recounting an incident I witnessed during the Yatra in Sonamarg, just before the southward turn to Baltal. A few young men, combining their yatra with a holiday, had occupied the better part of a dhaba run by a local Kashmiri. The men had spread their freshly washed shirts across several tables, rendering them unusable by other customers, and were loudly putting the owner of the modest establishment to work. The owner of the dhaba did not protest this uncalled for assertiveness but the resentment was tangible. At the time I noted that this was a needless display of brawny nationalism which not only demeans the local but also serves to tell him, subliminally, that he was not the "real" owner of the place and that he is condemned to serve the paying pilgrims who are the masters of the land. It builds deep resentment. Kashmir and Kashmiris are on edge because there is a lack of a civilian sensibility towards the land and civil sensibility towards the people.¹³⁸

The jingoistic discourse that Sinha brought into a purely religious ritual was his singular contribution to injure the goodwill of local Muslims towards the pilgrimage. Traditionally, they had been lending a helping hand for the conduct of *yatra*. Apart from a few hundred *ponywallas* who earn their livelihood by taking pilgrims and their baggage up to the cave shrine, the

family of Maliks of Batakote, a village located couple of kilometers downstream the famous hill resort of Pahalgam, were for over a century responsible for facilitating *darshan* of the ice *lingam*. Besides, people living en-route the shrine would welcome pilgrims with beverages. The Maliks whose ancestors are credited with the discovery of the cave, in fact, received a substantial share from the annual offerings which was withdrawn once the SASB was constituted to take control of the pilgrimage.

Historically, though they have extended a helping hand for the conduct of the *yatra*, the experiences of Kashmiri Muslims with the ritual have not always been pleasant. During the 19th and the early 20th century, when the Sikhs and the Dogras ruled Kashmir, the annual pilgrimage brought a substantial amount of avoidable misery to them. Robert Thorp observes thus:

It is strange that the cave is being visited [by Hindu pilgrims] by riding on the back of hundreds of Kashmiri Muslims who are requisitioned for *Begar*. These poor people, who are slaves, have to carry the pilgrims and their luggage to the cave on their backs. It is disgusting that all those who are requisitioned for *Begar* are Muslims, because Hindus think of themselves as immortal and pious.¹³⁹

Another manifestation of the *begar* was witnessed during arrival of the *chhari* procession - which then originated from Rawalpindi in the undivided Punjab - at Baramulla, the main north-Kashmir town, for onward journey to the Amarnath cave. From Baramulla, the procession would embark on barges to be rowed upstream for a long winding river course of over 100 kilometers by Kashmiri Muslims enlisted for *begar*.¹⁴⁰ The river journey of the mace would terminate at Khanabal in south-Kashmir from where it would take land route to the cave shrine. During the Dogra rule when pilgrims, mostly *sadhus*, would come in small numbers they sometimes brought with them cholera

causing death of thousands of people. Tyndale Biscoe and Dr. Neve have alluded to such epidemics and when the latter during one such calamity spoke to a *sadhu*, he casually replied: "All men have to die some time or other. I die, you die, we all die, so what does it matter?"¹⁴¹

Biscoe presents a not so pleasant picture of the *sadhus* marching on the streets of Srinagar.¹⁴² One would see some of them visiting different quarters of the city for alms as late as up to 1980s before the armed rebellion broke out in Kashmir. The development saw a purely religious ritual turning into a much politicised pilgrimage.

Critical report

As issues born out of politicisation of the Amarnath Yatra refuse to settle, a recently released well researched and in-depth report titled, *Amarnath Yatra: A Militarized Pilgrimage* by Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society and EQUATIONS, a Bangalore based research, campaign and advocacy organisation, has blown the lid off from what has been conveniently held back for decades from public view and discourse. The 212-page report makes a critical enquiry into the conduct of the Amarnath Yatra and challenges the role of a constitutionally secular state in its promotion and sustenance. "The Yatra underlines the undemocratic functioning of Indian rule in Kashmir, and draws attention to issues of militarisation, communal conflicts, resource monopolisation, and ecological devastation", the authors of the Report said in a press release on 20 April 2017. Based on a study conducted between 2014 and 2016, the Report uses a huge wealth of data to unveil the Indian State's political project under the garb of a religious ritual. The Report makes the following observations and conclusions:

Over a period of time, and especially from the 1990s, the demographics of the Yatra has changed, with lakhs of Yattris participating from many regions of India. The number of Yattris participating has increased from mere thousands until 1990, with an increase since 1996 to over 3 lakhs in 2015. What was traditionally a 15-day Yatra is now conducted for between 45-55 days. The increase in number of days was institutionalised after the formation of the Shri Amarnathji Shrine Board (SASB) in 2001, a statutory independent Board, headed by the Governor, which functions as a 'State within the State', without any accountability and few regulatory checks on its wide and arbitrary exercise of powers.

Given the eco-sensitive and precarious nature of the region, and the critical role it plays in terms of providing water and environmental stability to the Valley, there are serious implications of unregulated large visitations in the two valleys – Lidder and Sindh. Environmental concerns are linked to: carrying capacity, sanitation and solid waste and other environmental concerns like seismicity of the area, impact on glaciers and high altitude flora and fauna.

Based on interviews with key personnel of the armed forces, it appears that about 30,000 personnel were deployed in 2015 for the purpose of the Yatra. This is in addition to the camps of the armed forces located on the route, who are additionally activated for the duration of the Yatra. The Report also looks at the history of conflicts related to the Yatra, particularly the Amarnath land row of 2008, and the role of militarization in such conflicts.

NGOs set up langars or community kitchens along the Yatra route. 75% of the langar organisers come from Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. While langars are accountable to follow rules and regulations vis-a-vis menu, waste disposal practices and services that they are allowed / disallowed to provide, it was found that

they violate most of them especially linked to the menu and waste disposal practices, leading to visible ecological degradation along the route. The share of Kashmiri tour and travel operators and hotel owners is minuscule since tour operators used are mostly from Jammu or outside the state and very few people stay in hotels due to the presence of the SASB camps along the route. Kashmiris who comprise unorganised service providers including tentwalas, ponywalas, dandiwalas, loadbearers and taxi drivers, have little bargaining power to negotiate fair wages and rates. The report contests claims of socio-religious organisations that people of Kashmir gain the most from the Yatra because of economic benefits.

Since the 1980s, there has been an increasing trend of State encouragement and facilitation of newer Yatra pilgrimages in the region. Some of these, like the Amarnath Yatra, are coloured with religious-nationalist hues like the Buddha Amarnath, Kauser Nag and Sindhu Darshan Yatras. While some others like the Machail Yatra and Kailash Kund Yatra are the attempt to escalate a localised Yatra into a pan-Jammu/pan-India Yatra with economic motivations at their helm and often patronised by the tourism industry. The history of the Yatra is ridden with conflicts over resource allocation and land use, which are likely to be further exacerbated by this communalised State policy.

In its dealing in relation to the Yatra, the Indian State comes through clearly as a Hindu state, privileging the rights of Hindu pilgrims over pressing local environmental and human rights concerns. In Kashmir this divisive communalisation has further significance given that it is a disputed territory, and a Muslim majority region.¹⁴³

The Report, among other things, recommends restriction of the yatra to its traditional period of 15 days, arguing that "the faith of the yatris cannot be instrumentalised to further India's

political interests". It calls for demilitarization of the pilgrimage with emphasis that "military has no place in a space of divinity." The Report comes down heavily on, what it calls, "the extra constitutional role played by socio-religious organisations in the SASB, and the impunity they enjoy in their functioning", and underscores the need to nip in the bud "attempts to create more Amarnaths like Buddha Amarnath and Kauser Nag [in Kashmir] before they become another site of active conflict."

JAMMU MASSACRES

DURING the Partition of India in 1947, the subcontinent was engulfed by communal frenzy resulting in mass killing, rape, abduction, arson and dislocation of population. At the lowest estimate, half a million people of different faiths were slaughtered and twelve million became homeless.¹⁴⁴ On the higher side, the death toll is accounted for more than a million. There is no count of women being abducted and raped. The pain and agony unleashed by violence on victims is indescribable even as many of these carnages have been documented through print and visual media.

Unfortunately, however, the most gruesome of massacres of 1947 involving killing of tens of thousands of Muslims with official connivance in the Jammu Province of Jammu & Kashmir, has remained the least talked about occurrence in the narratives of the sub-continent. The massacre "appears to have slipped through the cracks of subcontinental history, overshadowed by the communal slaughter in neighbouring Punjab around the same time."¹⁴⁵ It is nobody's case to suggest that violence was only one sided. The Hindus and Sikhs also suffered bloodshed and indignities in parts of the State that now form Pakistan Administered Jammu & Kashmir. One such place was Muzaffarabad and another Mirpur. Perhaps an idea of what

befell the non-Muslims there can be had from what the first, and four times, President of Pakistan Administered Jammu & Kashmir, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, wrote:

I have no hesitation in saying that what happened in Muzaffarabad on 22nd, 23rd and 24th October 1947 was bad enough, and I saw the whole thing with my own eyes. There could not have been any justification for a killing of that sort.¹⁴⁶

However, what makes violence against Muslims in Jammu more horrendous, besides its magnitude, was the active participation of the State in it. The eastern districts of Jammu Province in particular turned into a river of blood.

Jammu constituted as one of the two provinces of the Muslim-majority princely state of Jammu & Kashmir ruled by a Hindu *Maharaja*, Hari Singh, the fourth generation Dogra ruler. According to the Census of 1941, the total Muslim population of the State was 3.2 million as against 0.8 million Hindus. While Kashmir was an overwhelmingly Muslim majority (93%) province, in the Jammu Province including the areas now in Pakistan Administered Jammu & Kashmir, Muslims formed 61.19% of the total population. The actual number of Muslims in Jammu & Kashmir was believed to be more than what was reflected in the Census Report of 1941. There were allegations that the Report was a doctored document. The allegations assumed credence by a speaking disparity in recording decadal growth of population in Hindu and Muslim dominated *tehsils*. While the Hindu dominated *tehsils* 'recorded' unusual growth in population, the Muslim majority *tehsils* showed abnormal decrease. For example, in the Hindu majority Jammu city where the decadal growth of population was recorded at 20% during 1911-1921, it suddenly jumped to 30% during 1931-1941. In Reasi and Kathua *tehsils*, the growth percentage rose from 5 to

10 each during the same period, while in Basohli, Bhimbar and Udhampur *tehsils* the population jumped from 1%, 7% and 6% to 7%, 15% and 8%, respectively.

In comparison, glaring decrease was 'recorded' in the growth of population in Muslim majority *tehsils* during 1931-1941 compared to the previous decade. In Kishtwar *tehsil*, the population was recorded at the decadal growth rate of only 7% compared to 18% during 1921-1931. The growth of population in Ramban *tehsil* was recorded at 7% compared to 15% during 1921-1931, in Srinagar city at 19% from 24%, in Budgam *tehsil* at 8% from 24%, in Pulwama *tehsil* at 5% from 13%, in Baramulla *tehsil* at 9% from 13% and in Handwara *tehsil* at 11% from 25%. Pertinently, in the adjoining Punjab a sustained campaign had been launched by resourceful Hindus to record the population of the community on a higher scale than its actual numbers. The campaign had its impact in Jammu & Kashmir also where Muslims complained that Hindu enumerators were recording their population at lesser numbers than their actual size.¹⁴⁷ Notwithstanding fudged enumeration, the Muslims were an overwhelming majority in both provinces of the State. The numerical strength, however, did not help the Muslims of Jammu Province to escape manslaughter engineered and executed under official supervision.

Magnitude of the tragedy

The anti-Muslim violence started in August and continued till November, engulfing the eastern districts of Jammu, Udhampur, Reasi and Kathua. There are different versions on the number of people killed in planned orgies. Ian Stephens, the then editor of *The Statesman*, puts the figure at a staggering half a million. He writes:

[There] within a period of about eleven weeks starting in August, systematic savageries, similar to those already launched in East Panjab and in Patiala and Kapurthala, particularly eliminated the entire Muslim element in the population, amounting to 500,000 people. About 200,000 just disappeared, remaining untraceable, having presumably been butchered, or died from epidemics. The rest fled destitute to West Punjab.¹⁴⁸

Senior journalist Ved Bhasin estimates fatal casualties at about 1, 00,000. Horace Alexander put the figure at 200,000.¹⁴⁹ Some like, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan give the number of Muslims killed as 300, 000.¹⁵⁰ By December 1947, Pakistan knew that considerable anti-Muslim violence had occurred in Jammu and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan believed that "the loss of life among Jammu Muslims ran into six figures."¹⁵¹ The *Times of London*, however, in its publication dated 10 August 1948 gave the number of exterminated Muslims as 2, 37,000. The newspaper ran a two part story by its Special Correspondent on 9 and 10 August 1948 and in its second part, '*Fate of Kashmir-II-The People of the Component Districts-Elimination of Muslims from Jammu*', carried on page 5, the correspondent wrote:

Forming 40 percent of the population of this whole area [Jammu Province], to the north and astride the Chenab Muslims were in a majority in the Reasi, Ramban and Kishtwar areas and nearly attained parity in Bhaderwah. In the remaining Dogra areas the 237,000 Muslims were systematically exterminated - unless they escaped to Pakistan along the border - by all the forces of the Dogra State, headed by the Maharaja in person and aided by Hindus and Sikhs. This happened in October 1947, five days before the first Pathan invasion and nine days before the Maharaja's accession to India. This elimination of two-thirds of the Muslims last autumn has entirely changed the present composition of eastern Jammu Province.

The 'extermination of 237,000 Muslims' in the Jammu Province was also raised by the representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, Sir Zafrullah Khan, in the Security Council during its 464th meeting held on 8 February 1950.¹⁵² However, Khan referred to the *Times of London* publication dated 10 October 1948 instead of 10 August 1948. Many writers seem to have borrowed the date from him and reproduced it in their write-ups. Christopher Snedden finds fault with this assertion as "I have not been able to locate the article quoted: there was no edition of the *Times of London* on this day, which was a Sunday."¹⁵³ Snedden is right in his assertion but the story regarding the number of Muslims killed in the violence was published by the *Times of London* in its publication of 10 August 1948. The present writer was able to access this issue of the newspaper and has quoted from it in the preceding. In 1950, *The New Yorker* also reported that "an estimated two hundred and thirty thousand civilians were killed".¹⁵⁴

The anti-Muslim violence in Jammu had two contributory factors – external and internal. The external factor was the arrival of large number of Hindu and Sikh refugees uprooted from areas that went to Pakistan and the areas of Jammu Province that later formed part of Pakistan Administered Jammu & Kashmir. By mid-September, about 65,000 of them were in Jammu city alone.¹⁵⁵ They brought with them tales of death and plunder that poisoned atmosphere in Jammu against its Muslim population. This, however, does not mean that violence against Jammu Muslims was initiated as a reaction to what had happened to Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan. Attacks on them had started much earlier. According to *The Times of London* as many as 2, 37, 000 Muslims had been exterminated "five days before the first Pathan invasion and nine days before the Maharaja's accession to India."¹⁵⁶ Arrival of Hindu and Sikh victims only

intensified violence against Muslims in Jammu. To a limited extent threatening statements against the Kashmir Government issued on Radio Pakistan by Muslim leaders who had migrated to Pakistan also added fuel to the fire. "Every time one of these leaders issued a sharp statement from Radio Pakistan, firing on Muslim neighbourhood intensified."¹⁵⁷

However, far more serious than external was the internal factor in the form of complicity of the State apparatus in violence. What sets Jammu massacres - for there were many across the region - apart from those in Punjab is the official connivance. From the Prime Minister to the Governor to the Hindu component of the Dogra Army, everybody in the Administration had his hands soaked in blood. The ruler and his wife too were never above suspicion. The internal factor had profound political motive of ethnic cleansing of Muslims from the eastern Jammu Province and changing the demography of the region.

The atmosphere against Muslims had been building up for some time. Arms were being distributed among Hindu communalist groups even as Muslims were ordered to deposit with the government all weapons they possessed. Muslim soldiers in the Maharaja's army were disarmed. Arms training camp for the Hindus and Sikhs was established in Jammu city. Preparations appeared in full swing for an organizing bloodbath in the Province. The Muslims as disempowered subjects were fear stricken as they had no answer to the State sponsored violence. The elite among them were migrating to Pakistan and their leadership was in jail.

Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas, President, Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, was put behind the bars by Maharaja Hari Singh throughout the year of 1947.¹⁵⁸ The Muslims of Jammu had nobody to lead them in their hour of crisis. Had Abbas

been there perhaps it might have generated confidence among the Muslims to stay put. The rest of the Muslim Conference leadership simply disappeared from the scene and left the panicky Muslim population in lurch. The party also failed in foreseeing what was coming and organising Muslims to face the eventuality. "With Abbas prevented from influencing or leading Jammu Muslims, anti-Muslim elements, including the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] and disgruntled Hindu and Sikh refugees, were able to harry Muslims in eastern Jammu Province virtually unhindered and with little publicity."¹⁵⁹ Chowdhary Hamidullah Khan and Abdul Hamid Sheikh were only two leaders out of the jail but could not do anything to secure Muslims of Jammu from the killers. Chowdhary lost his children to violence while his wife was seriously injured.¹⁶⁰ As regards Abdul Hamid Sheikh, he was "one of the few hopes for Muslims when the men were being killed and women abducted and raped."¹⁶¹ He sought political intervention to violence against Muslims and even met Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his Home Minister, Vallabhbhai Patel but without any success. Ultimately, he joined a batch of migrating Muslims and crossed over to Sialkot.

In the meanwhile, the Tribal advances in Kashmir and the reverses suffered by his troops scared Hari Singh and he, as a vanquished ruler, fled to Jammu. His wife, Tara Devi, was with him. She had taken full control of the palace affairs a couple of years ago and was in the grip of a dubious character *Rajguru* Swami Sant Dev, who loved the company of women and had been reported against by an English lady for making passes to her young daughters.¹⁶² The Swami who had lived in the State during the time of Pratap Singh was banished by Hari Singh when the latter ascended the throne but Dev made a mysterious comeback in 1944. By 1946, he had firmly ensconced himself as the *Rajguru* and was installed by the Maharaja in the

Cheshmashahi Guest House.¹⁶³ Swami had kindled the desire in Hari Singh of becoming a sovereign of an independent Jammu & Kashmir once the British had departed from India.

State sponsored violence

The Maharaja's Administration had invited the RSS, Akali Dal and Hindu Maha Sabha to send their volunteers to Jammu who gathered not only in Jammu city but also fanned to other areas of the Province like Doda, Kishtwar, Udhampur and Rajouri.¹⁶⁴ They began to pour into the State by the middle of August 1947.¹⁶⁵ The combination of communalist element in Hindu population driven by the RSS ideology, Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan and the Maharaja's troops had set the stage for the kill. The Sikh refugees from the Frontier Province of Pakistan allegedly brought into the State "huge quantities of arms and ammunition", a dump each of which was later discovered at Muzaffarabad and Baramulla.¹⁶⁶ Tara Devi, Swami Sant Dev, Prime Minister Mehar Chand Mahajan, Deputy Prime Minister, Ram Lal Batra, appointed on the recommendations of the *Rajguru*, and Governor Chet Ram Chopra inspired and abetted violence even as Hari Singh himself could all but wash his hands off the bloodshed of Muslims.

That a conspiracy against Muslims was hatched and implemented at the highest level in the Administration was clear from the movement of the State [Dogra] Army troops who were being spread out in different parts of the State. The transfer of Muslim officers in the State Army further alarmed the Muslims in the Jammu Province. The British Chief of Staff of the Dogra Army was opposed to the wholesale transfers of Muslim officers but was overruled. He had no option but to quit. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan recalls the developments thus:

[Then] a cunningly devised posting of all Muslim officers in the Dogra Army betrayed the evil designs of the authorities. Movement of the State troops indicated the real intentions of the Government. Brigadier Scott, Chief of Staff of the Dogra Army, not unnaturally, expressed his apprehension on this score. He later refused to be associated with these dispositions and with the wholesale transfer of Muslim Officers. These actions were, in themselves, ominous and forebode serious trouble – possibly a general massacre of the Muslim population of the area. I am told that Brigadier Scott also did not agree with other similar policies of the Maharaja. Under these circumstances, Brigadier Scott had no option but to quit the State in a not very agreeable manner. Similarly, another British Officer, the Inspector General of Police, was forced to resign from his post and leave the State. They were soon replaced by Dogra Officers, who belonged to the Maharaja's family. These new officers were known to be lacking in administrative ability. Their views about the Mussalmans very clearly indicated what was going to be the future policy of the State Government, vis-à-vis its Muslim subjects.¹⁶⁷

Hari' Singh's complicity

Maharaja Hari Singh was aware of the widespread violence against the Muslims but did not try to control or stop it. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, quoting an eyewitness, alleges that the Maharaja himself shot down three Muslim *Gujjars* at Mishriwala.¹⁶⁸ The serious charge, however, is not corroborated by any other source even as Hari Singh cannot be absolved of what happened with his Muslim subjects. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan writes that "Sir Hari Singh himself gave orders to his troops and police to kill every Muslim found to save the Dogra Raj from destruction. These instructions, he left at Batood [Batote] and Kud [during his escape from Srinagar]."¹⁶⁹

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah holds the Maharaja and his wife directly responsible for the carnage against the Muslims by "distributing deadly weapons among the Hindu extremists and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh activists, and instigating them to wipe the Muslims out."¹⁷⁰ He points out that the Maharaja had appointed his close aide, Colonel Baldev Singh Pathania, as the Chief Emergency Officer and Major Preetam Singh as the Governor of Jammu who, instead of safeguarding lives and property of the minorities, were encouraging attacks on them in their camps in the city outskirts.¹⁷¹ Mahatma Gandhi too held Hari Singh squarely responsible for what happened to his Muslim subjects. On 25 December 1947, he observed:

The Hindus and Sikhs of Jammu and those who had gone there from outside killed Muslims. The Maharaja of Kashmir is responsible for what is happening there... Muslim women have been dishonoured.¹⁷²

Qudratullah Shahab, the first Muslim Indian Civil Service (ICS) officer from Jammu & Kashmir, too speaks about Hari Singh's direct involvement in what befell his Muslim subjects. In his words:

Soon after entering into the Standstill Agreement with Pakistan, Maharaja Hari Singh decided that the entire Muslim population in Jammu Province should be wiped out. Himself taking the command of the task he let loose like hounds the contingents of Dogra army, police and Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh on Muslim subjects.¹⁷³

Prominent political activist and writer, Krishan Dev Sethi makes the following observation:

The Maharaja and his Administration played an important role in flaring up communal riots after Hari Singh arrived from Srinagar. Muslims in Jammu city were under the influence of the Muslim Conference. The Maharaja played

a significant role in promoting and pampering the RSS in Jammu. Important RSS leaders like Balraj Madhok, Kedar Nath Sahni, Vijay Malhotra and Madan Lal Khurana remained stationed in Jammu as in-charge of RSS during 1940s.

Governor Chet Ram Chopra and DIG Police, Bakhshi Udhay Chand, also played vital role. The Administration too participated in the massacre. Organized armed Hindu *jathas* went as far as Bhimbhar.¹⁷⁴

Corroborating Sethi's view, social activist, Balraj Puri, an eyewitness to Jammu violence, says: "The Maharaja had RSS leader Guru Golwalkar as his personal guest and his *Rajguru*, Sant Dev's role was also dubious."¹⁷⁵ The role of the RSS in anti-Muslim violence in Jammu Province is a matter of record. That a conspiracy was hatched at the highest level of power is alluded to by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, according to whom a secret meeting of some rulers of the Kangra Valley was held near Srinagar in July 1947 where a "conspiracy was hatched in collaboration with the Rasht[r]iya [Swayam] Sevak Sang[h] at Amritsar to carry out a wholesale massacre of Mussalmans [Muslims] in the State, beginning with Poonch where they expected stiff resistance. This had to be carried out systematically with the active assistance of the Dogra Army. With this end in view the Dogra Army Units were posted in the most strategic places, for instance, all along the Jhelum River in Mirpur and Poonch Districts. To post Dogra Army contingents on all bridges and ferries on the Jhelum River was part of this plan."¹⁷⁶ With the establishment of Pakistan, the Maharaja's Government became "increasingly aggressive"¹⁷⁷ towards the Muslims.

Hari Singh's hands were all but clean. He "allegedly hoped to alter the demography of his kingdom by ensuring that a chunk of the Muslim population would be eliminated or pushed out

of Jammu to Pakistan, thus placing Hindus in the majority.”¹⁷⁸ While fleeing from Srinagar he allegedly asked his people en-route Jammu to ‘finish’ Muslims. Balraj Puri also alludes to this allegation.¹⁷⁹ According to senior advocate of Jammu & Kashmir High Court and a survivor of the carnage, Shabir Ahmad Salahria:

The role of Maharaja Hari Singh in communal riots cannot be overlooked. He was responsible for fuelling attacks on Muslims. The Maharaja visited many places and instead of dousing communal flames he encouraged rioters.¹⁸⁰

Salahria believes that if the Maharaja had not lost balance the situation might not have turned as bad as it did. Salahria’s father, Ferozuddin, saw Hari Singh ‘encouraging killers’. He was District Forest Officer at Kathua and had to flee to Jammu in Hindu dress to avoid identification and attack. On way to home, he saw the Maharaja gathered around by people who were boastfully informing him about the number of Muslims they had killed. “The Maharaja gave them a pat on their backs and encouraged them.”¹⁸¹

Ved Bhasin, who lived through the developments unfolding in Jammu in 1947, believes that the Administration was fully responsible for the massacre of Muslims and changing demographic character of the Province.¹⁸² He recalls that as a student leader during those horrible days he had published a pamphlet titled ‘*Insaniyat Ke Naam*’ (To Humanity) urging for communal amity. He was summoned by Governor Chet Ram Chopra and warned to desist from issuing appeals for peace or else he would have him arrested. Chopra told him that there was danger from Muslims and hence Hindus and Sikhs were imparted training in firearms. Bhasin attended a meeting taken by Prime Minister Mehar Chand Mahajan where the latter said that power was being transferred to people and Hindus and

Sikhs should demand parity with Muslims. When asked how it was possible as they were in minority, Mahajan, pointing towards the forest area down the Maharaja's palace where corpses of recently butchered Muslim Gujjars were scattered, said "the population ratio can change."¹⁸³

About active involvement of State authorities in the killing and driving Muslims out, Alastair Lamb observes:

[The] State authorities joined openly in this anti-Muslim policy by setting out to create along the State's border with Pakistan (in the region of Gujarat and Sialkot) a depopulated zone some three miles deep. Hindus here were evacuated. Muslims were either killed or driven across into Pakistan. On a number of occasions Jammu & Kashmir State Forces actually crossed over into Pakistan and destroyed villages there... Early in October British observers saw in one such village on the Pakistan side of the border no fewer than 1,700 corpses of slaughtered Muslim men, women and children.¹⁸⁴

Organized violence against Muslims was also observed by journalist G. K. Reddy who was removed as Editor of *Kashmir Times* and ousted from Jammu & Kashmir for advocating its accession to Pakistan. He saw "a mad orgy of Dogra violence against unarmed Muslims [that] should put any self-respecting human being to shame".¹⁸⁵ Reddy in an interview published in the *Civil & Military Gazette* on 28 October 1947 saw "armed bands of ruffians and soldiers shooting down and hacking to pieces helpless Muslim refugees heading towards Pakistan" and watching officials and military officers "directing a huge armed mob against a Muslim refuge convoy [that it] hacked to pieces."¹⁸⁵ He counted as many as twenty-four villages burning one night [while] all through the night the rattling fire of automatic weapons could be heard from the surrounding refugee camps. The *Civil & Military Gazette* in its 21 November 1947 issue also

reported a party of Englishmen interviewing 200 wounded refugees at Sialkot and being "convinced that there has been a disgraceful massacre of Muslims in Jammu."¹⁸⁶

The two Englishmen identified by Christopher Snedden as 'possible pacifist Quakers not ideologically driven', detailed ten separate violent incidents against Muslims in Jammu that occurred between the beginning of October and 9 November 1947. These incidents, reported by the *Civil & Military Gazette* on 18 December 1947 as also reproduced by Snedden, include massacres on 20 October near Kathua and Akhnoor Bridge, on 22 October at Samba, on 23 October at Maogaon, on 5 and 6 November in the outskirts of Jammu city and on 9 November near Suchetgarh. As many as 70,000 Muslims were reported to have been killed in these seven incidents alone.¹⁸⁸

Of the seven specific incidents of violence, four occurred when Hari Singh was still in power and had not acceded to India. "The killers supposedly included 'State' or 'Dogra' troops in all instances."¹⁸⁹ At one point in time, G. C. Bali, Deputy Director of Intelligence and a confidante of the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, wrote to him from Jammu that the Dogra and Rajput soldiers of the army were "torching villages like rioters, abducting women and raping them. The silence of the Maharaja and people in power here was only emboldening them".¹⁹⁰ Nehru and Governor General Lord Mountbatten were aware of what was happening in Jammu. "Mountbatten was in control in Delhi and had news of the genocide of Muslims in Jammu filtered out of the media."¹⁹¹ On the basis of intelligence report that he had received from Jammu, Nehru informed his Home Minister, Vallabhbhai Patel about what was going on in Jammu as late as up to 1949 and Hari Singh's nexus with the communalist *Praja Parishad*. On 17 April 1949 Nehru wrote to Patel;

Our intelligence officer reported that this Praja Parishad is financed by the Maharaja. Further, that the large sums

collected for the Dharmarth Fund, which are controlled by the Maharaja, are being spent in propaganda for him.¹⁹²

Not only did the Government of India knew about the State violence against Muslims in Jammu through its own sources but the Government of Pakistan, that too appeared to have the information, also took up the matter both with the *Maharaja* and New Delhi. On 26 October 1947, the Governor General of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, wrote to Hari Singh about the latter's policy of "suppressing the Mussalmans in every way" and of "atrocities... being committed by [J&K] troops" that were driving Muslims out of the State.¹⁹³ Earlier, on 18 October Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan had complained to Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir "about the 'mounting exigence [sic] of ruthless oppression of Muslims'."¹⁹⁴ On 1 November, Khan complained to the Governor General of India, about the "Maharaja allowing his troops to 'massacre Muslims in the Poonch and Mirpur areas'. On 4 November, in a radio broadcast, he informed his country of 'bestial deeds perpetrated on the people of Kashmir', especially the Poonch apprising."¹⁹⁵ By early December, after receiving 'first-hand evidence' from refugees he had recently met in Sialkot and Rawalpindi, Liaquat believed that the loss of life among Jammu Muslims ran into six-figures."¹⁹⁶

Balraj Puri makes a point to establish the culpability of the Maharaja's Administration in anti-Muslim violence in Reasi. According to him:

The killing of Muslims was well organized. The hand of the Administration was clearly visible. I sent a telegram to the government from Reasi informing that threat to Muslims there was looming large. Instead of sending security for their protection, a *jatha* of Hindu communalists came to me on the second or third day and their leader asked where

lay the danger and that they would like to go there and see. It was a strange situation. These were the people against whom I had sent a telegram and here they were demanding to know where the danger was! Obviously, the government machinery was actively involved in the massacre. How else would the rioters have known about the telegram?¹⁹⁷

Hari Singh did not speak about the Jammu killings nor chose to expose those who were responsible for it if his own hands were clean.

Bloodbath across the Province

The killing of Muslims outside the Jammu city had started in August 1947 and continued for months at different places. The districts of Reasi, Udhampur and Kathua, and Chenahni *jagir* in east Jammu Province were the worst scenes of savagery. No mercy was shown to women, children or the aged. In many cases, the victims were promised to be taken to safer places but murdered in cold blood. Often, the murderers were known faces. Rishi Kumar Kaushal, who later became a senior politician of Jammu, took part in the killing of Muslims in Reasi.¹⁹⁸ He was seen running after the victims with a gun and shooting them down.¹⁹⁹ At Ram Nagar in Udhampur district, *Tehsildar* Chander Udhay Singh, son of Maharaja's ADC, Brigadier Faqir Singh, 'supervised the massacre of Muslims'.

Reasi saw one of the worst carnages. Muslims, both in the district and tehsil of Reasi, were in majority. Their overall population in the district (which then included area under the present Rajouri district), as per Census of 1941, was 1, 75, 539 (67%) as against 80,725 Hindus (31%). Likewise, in Reasi tehsil the number of Muslims was 64,144 as against 52, 501 Hindus. Despite being in majority, Muslims were attacked and killed by armed Hindu gangs who had mostly come from outside Reasi.

On 4 November 1947, a *jatha* of 500-600 armed men arrived in Reasi town and camped at the Sher Bagh where now the Deputy Commissioner's office is located. Preparations for the attack had been made at Jammu. Ahmad Shah Kalla, a respectable of the area, Abdul Aziz Bhat, a *Panch*, and Muzaffar Ahmad, a judge, went to the Wazir-i-Wazarat or Deputy Commissioner and informed him about the arrival of the *jatha* and their apprehensions about an attack on Muslims.²⁰⁰ The Deputy Commissioner undermined the development saying that no armed men had arrived in Reasi. The three men decided to go to the Sher Bagh to persuade the *jatha* to return but, having no faith in him, refused to take the Deputy Commissioner with them. Instead, they chose a prominent Hindu liberal, Shanti Swaroop [father of Balraj Puri], to accompany them. The four of them went to the Sher Bagh and tried to reason with the armed men the need for maintaining communal peace. Kalla pleaded with them that local Hindus and Muslims had formed a peace committee and decided to maintain communal harmony in the area. He asked them to go away from Reasi but they did not listen to him and one of them pulled out his sword and killed him on the spot.²⁰¹ Abdul Aziz Bhat and Muzaffar Ahmad were also killed. A shocked Shanti Swaroop felt helpless and later shut himself in his house.

The killing continued for several days. The Reasi carnage was one of the largest massacres enacted in the Jammu Province. Abdur Rauf, 58, grandson of Ahmad Shah Kalla, says that out of a population of 8,000 Muslims in the city only 250 survived.²⁰² Of them, only a dozen stayed back at Reasi while the rest fled to Pakistan. As many as 26 members of the Kalla family were killed.

The survivors have chilling memories of the massacre. Mehmood Ahmad Khan, who was about 6-7 years old when

violence in Reasi broke out, recalls that it was about 3 p.m. when rioters let hell loose on them.²⁰³ Mehmood's is a heart rending story. Five of his family members including mother, father and brothers were killed. His two sisters and nieces were put on logs and pushed into the Chenab in a bid to drown them in the river. His mother along with her one year old son, Yunis, was drowned while saving the girls. Left alone, Mehmood was saved by a Hindu and kept hidden from rioters for two days. Then the rioters showed up and again took him to the river bank to kill him. Mercifully, this time an army man named Makhan rescued him and took him to his home in Khairian. He was not treated well there and ultimately Birbal, a Brahmin took him to his place, converted him to Hinduism at the hands of a *Pandit* at a specially held function and rechristened him Gulaboo. He was asked to spot *achoti* and was told that if somebody asked him his name he should tell the assumed name Gulabo. He was with Birbal for two years shepherding his goats with other herds-children of the village.

One day, Pandit Durga Dutt, a *hakeem* of Reasi happened to pass through the village and noticed Mehmood. He went back to Reasi and informed Haji Akbar, one among the handful of Muslim survivors there, insisting him to get Mehmood back. A man was sent to Khairian who asked Birbal to let Mehmood go with him. Birbal did not object. Gulaboo's *choti* was shaved, signalling return to his original faith. In early 1980s, Mehmood came to know that his two sisters and nieces who were pushed into the Chenab had luckily crossed the river and escaped to Sialkot in Pakistan. In 1983, he visited them. After about 45 years, he also visited Khairian village and met the boys, now old men, with whom he would graze goats of Birbal. He visited the house of Birbal but found out that he had passed away.

Udhampur district was another scene of bloodshed. According to the Census of 1941, the district had a slightly higher population of Hindus at 164,820 (56.01%) against 128,327 Muslims (43.61%). The Hindus predominated in the tehsils of Udhampur, Ramnagar (severely affected by violence) and Bhandarwah while Muslims were in majority in Kishtwar and Ramban.

In Udhampur, the festival of Eid on 25 October turned out to be the day of slaughter of Muslims. Hundreds of them were gathered in the Parade Ground and given the option of conversion or death. Many were done to death.²⁰³ As narrated by a massacre survivor and former legislator, Wazira Begum, children were cut into small pieces and cooked with rice to be served to the survivors of the massacre.²⁰⁵ On observing pieces of small fingers in food, women got hysterical and cried inconsolably. From the maternal side of the Begum at Dudu Basantgarh as many as 70 people were killed. Several Muslims were assembled in the mansion of Colonel Abdur Rehman and burnt alive. The Begum's mother and two brothers were also killed. At village Sailan Da Palad, a huge fire was lit in which bodies were thrown to roast.²⁰⁶

Young Master Sheikh Ghulam Hussain, father of noted Punjabi and Urdu fiction writer, Khalid Hussain, was asked to call his *Allah*, as he would say *azan* at a high pitch. Hussain, who was carrying a copy of the Quran recited the verses of *azan* and jumped into the fire before the marauders would have killed him. He was burnt alive. Hussain's father, Sheikh Habib Ullah, brothers, Sheikh Abdul Karim and Sheikh Abdul Qayoom, brother-in-law, Muhammad Din and two young sons were also killed in the carnage. Colonel Abdur Rehman's entire family was eliminated. He and Ghulam Nabi Naayi, local barber, were the

only two survivors of the carnage. They somehow fled from the scene. Rehman later remarried at the age of 70.

Among the casualties at Udhampur was Raja Sarwar Khan of Mirpur who was *Wazir-i-Wazarat* or Deputy Commissioner of Udhampur district. Khan was tricked into a conspiracy. He was told by one Amarnath Sharma, who later became a minister that *Raja* of Chenahni had sent a word for him to shift there for his safety. Khan believed Sharma and left for Chenahni in his car. He had hardly travelled a mile when his vehicle was ambushed by a gang of killers and was killed in cold blood.²⁰⁷

Chenahni *jagir* was yet another scene of slaughter. Muslims in the *jagir* were in minority and their number stood at 2205 against 9581 Hindus [Census of 1941]. The survivors believe that Tara Devi, wife of Maharaja Hari Singh, instigated the rioters. About 80 Muslims - women, children and infirm males - who could not flee unlike many others who fled to safer places like Marmat -were collected at one place and kept there for about a month. Later, they were taken out of Chenahni on the promise of transporting them to Pakistan but were massacred at Gangladi, Lower Kud.²⁰⁸ A group of 155 Muslims led by one Amiruddin was tricked by a killer *jatha* into gruesome killing after assuring them safety. Sant Ram, one of the rioters, had taken them and lodged in a double storied Dak Bungalow at Guna village. The door was bolted from outside and the building set on fire. They were all roasted alive. A lady, Fatima Bibi, jumped out of the window but was killed by a bullet fired by one Jabu Brahmin.

The *raja* of Chenahni, Ram Chand, had accompanied Hari Singh when he ran away from Kashmir. Survivors believe that he was actively involved in the massacre and had forewarned one of his Muslim employees to flee as there would be "a big *rola*

tomorrow". Jamal-ud-Din, 80, of Chhenai who had seen those terrible times, says that the *raja* later died a miserable death. He was afflicted with a disease that grew worms on his body. The body was washed away by flash flood when it lay on the pyre for last rites.²⁰⁹

Chenahni was the scene of another spine chilling incident in which the family of Qazis allegedly slaughtered their womenfolk to save their honour. Six ladies of the household, including young girls, were slayed by their own kin before the rioters broke into the house with evil intention of defiling the women. Finding the women dead, they killed the two men.²¹⁰ The family had earlier fled Chhenani fearing trouble but had been recalled by killers on the assurance that they will not be harmed. Only four families survived the carnage in Chhenani. Mohammad Mukhtar and Nizam-ud-Din converted to Hinduism for fear of life but returned to their faith once peace was restored.

In Kathua district, Hindus were in majority with the highest preponderance in tehsil Basohli. The total Muslim population in the district was over 45,000 with the largest and the smallest minority in Kathua and Basohli tehsils, respectively where they suffered organised violence. Near Kathua town, as many as 8,000 Muslims were massacred on 20 October 1947. Only 40 victims of violence survived.²¹¹ In Billawar, Muslims were killed and womenfolk raped and abducted by Hindu communalists.²¹² From Machedi and other areas, many fled towards Doda.

Obaid-ur-Rehman of Basohli, an employee of the revenue department, was away on official tour when rioters attacked the town. There was a *mohalla* of Kashmiri shawl workers whose inhabitants were slaughtered. In Obaid's own *mohalla* everyone was killed including fifteen members of his extended family and ten from his father-in-law's family. One day, local Hindus told Muslims that since riots had started in Jammu it might not take

long for flames to reach Basohli and before that happened they must leave the place and cross the Ravi River for safety. As a large number of Muslims was crossing the river, the rioters, mostly non-locals, attacked them. Obaid believes that about 500 people of all ages were butchered in the river in which not much water flowed those days.²¹³ After coming to know about the massacre Obaid fled to Bhaderwah and returned only after a year. By the time, the houses of Muslims had been razed to ground on the directions of *Tehsildar* of Basohli, Pandit Yog Dayan, in a bid to remove any evidence of their ever having lived there.

Violence in Jammu district affected all its four tehsils – R. S. Pura, Akhnoor, Samba and Jammu. Of the total population (431,362) of the district, Hindus were in a significant majority at 248,173 (57%) while Muslims accounted for 170,789 (39%) [Census of 1941].

In border tehsil of R S Pura, where, according to the Census of 1941, Hindus only slightly exceeded Muslims (46,275 Hindus against 45,949 Muslims), the latter suffered heavy casualties. The attackers were mostly Sikh refugees from Pakistan and local lower caste Hindus. The village of Darsopur where Muslims were in 70% majority was gripped with tension. They had gathered at a place where rioters attacked them. A survivor of the carnage and former legislator, Chowdhary Fateh Muhammad, recalls:

There was a massacre of Muslims. The attack was made during the day. The tragedy befell our relatives also and there were families in which two to four members each were killed.²¹⁴

Chowdhary's grandparents and paternal aunts were also killed while his mother and sister were separated from him in the melee. He was rescued by Shankar Das, a local Hindu, who accompanied him to the border for cross over to Pakistan.

Chowdhary lived for some years in Pakistan but returned in 1953 after undergoing a jail term for suspicion of being an Indian agent. He does not remember the date of the massacre but recalls that it was October as "rice crop in the fields had ripened."

In Akhnoor tehsil, where the population of Hindus and Muslims stood at 55,325 and 32,611, respectively, as many as 15,000 Muslims were reportedly done to death on 20 October.²¹⁵ Violence was also reported from other parts of the tehsil including Chhamb, Deva Batala and Manawar. The Samba massacre on 22 October accounted for 14,000 Muslim victims.²¹⁶ The tehsil had a Muslim population of 35,642 as against Hindu majority of 51,479.

Elsewhere in the Jammu Province, Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Doda also witnessed violence.²¹⁷ In Doda, the family of Sheikh Abdur Rehman, who is now a senior *Bhabujan Samaj Party* leader, was killed. Those who wanted an anti-Muslim flare up there had spread a rumour that Muslims in Doda had revolted, killed Hindus and coroneted one Khalil Kitchloo as their king. "Those days wherever the Dogra army men would go they spread such rumours about the place which was followed by massacre of Muslims."²¹⁸

Jammu city, conspiracy and carnage

Stories of violence in other parts of the Province were pouring into the city of Jammu and tension was building up among its Muslim inhabitants. With a total number of 15,920, they were in a clear minority against a population of 30,564 Hindus [Census of 1941]. Gripped by fear, they were scared of venturing out. In *mohalla* Jatkatan, the inhabitants demolished walls that divided their houses to allow easy passage from one house to another without stepping into the lane.²¹⁹

The communalists from the majority community had vitiated atmosphere and flamed passions. Injured refugees from Pakistan were being paraded in the streets of the city to arouse tempers against the Muslims. Ved Bhasin believes that Jammu politics in 1947 was totally divided on communal lines. "There was no mixing of the communities and politically Hindus and Muslims were at daggers drawn."²²⁰ Meanwhile, Maharaja Hari Singh and his wife arrived from Srinagar where they had to flee in the face of the Tribal Attack on Kashmir. The arrival in Jammu of a defeated and psychologically wounded royal couple added fuel to the fire that had been already lit by communal forces in the wake of the creation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan next door and arrival of Hindu migrants from there. Advocate Salahria recalls:

In the meantime, the Maharaja also had to flee from Srinagar and he came here. His wife came out on streets with open hair, wailing and saying to people that Muslims had dethroned them. The Maharaja's army had also returned defeated from Poonch, Rajouri, Nowshera and Kashmir and was nursing a grudge against Muslims. All this contributed to a situation where Muslims of Jammu suffered devastation.²²¹

Until the middle of October, there was relative peace in Jammu city though killing in rural areas and migration of Muslims to Pakistan was underway.²²² The situation was fast deteriorating and the atmosphere was getting frightening. In the outskirts of the city, scared people were fleeing to Pakistan in groups and carrying even their cattle with them. They were waylaid by rioters and killed. The growing tension forced people within the city also to migrate to Pakistan and in the beginning the middle class families set out on this path. Others were also waiting in the wings but Pakistan suddenly stopped rail service to Jammu, ostensibly to pressurise the Maharaja to immediately

decide on the future of Jammu & Kashmir. The armed gangs of rioters were freely moving around creating dread and panic among the Muslim population. Rumours of slaughter and arson in neighbouring areas were further escalating tension.

Malik Umar Din, a young lecturer in Persian at the Prince of Wales College, Jammu, was agonised by unfolding developments as he was away from his family including a young wife of only 17 years and an infant daughter who were at his parental house in Bhaderwah. His only contact with them was through letters in which he wrote about the horrifying situation prevailing in the city and vulnerability and helplessness of Muslims there. His two letters written to his family back in Bhaderwah serve as an important chronicle on the then prevailing situation in Jammu. His daughter, Tahira Sultana who never saw her father, was then only six months old and has kept these letters as her most precious possession for the last seven decades. In the first letter, Umar Din narrates tension and fear building up among the Muslims in Jammu city. He writes:

I received your letter through Uncle Ghulam Mohammad. It appears, you are very worried about me. I am overwhelmed by your love. For being my partner in grief, I am grateful of you. In these fatal hours, when everyone seems self-caring, your concern is indeed heartening. I stay with Attaullah in his rundown house and eat in a hotel. But for last five days, I am staying with Aziz Sahib at his Peer Mitha residence. I also eat with his family. Time passes quite trouble-free these days. I go to College daily after breakfast and return at 2 p.m. Aziz Sahab returns from school at 4 p.m. By then, his wife Sayeeda keeps tea ready. We take it together. We eat rice and meat in dinner. Then, I go out with stick to listen radio. I return around 10 p.m. This is my daily routine.

But undoubtedly, Jammu's mood is murderous. Muslims are abandoning their homes and running to Pakistan. Two-

third Muslim population has already deserted the city. The remaining one-third looks anxious, fretful. Hindu military keep patrolling around, thus escalating fears in already terrified Muslims. Around 30 *tongas* daily ferry Muslim refugees to Pakistan. Even today, I saw several *tongas* near Gomut with Pakistan-bound Muslim passengers. Muslims aren't fleeing because of the fear of Jammu Hindus, but because of the weaponised Hindu military. Many Muslim delegations met government in Srinagar, but nothing has been done to restore confidence in frightened Muslim community. Rumour mills have been working overtime. Now, all eyes are on Maharaja *Bahadur*. Everyone is patiently waiting for his decision to either stay independent or accede with one of the two neighbouring nations. It is said that if His Highness snubs Pakistan to accede to Hindustan with Sheikh Abdullah's support, then a big bloodbath is inevitable. In that case, I fear Punjab-like riots.

Let us see what His Highness's decision would be. But from Sheikh Abdullah's speeches, it is quite clear that he is in favour of Hindustan. And naturally, his Highness will be more slanted towards Delhi than Lahore and Karachi. Muslims are also leaving Jammu because of this reason. Anyways, whatever has to happen will happen — but, that doesn't mean, you will remain in this grief throughout day and night.

Despite massacre in Punjab, lakhs of people managed to survive. It teaches us one thing: Whomsoever Allah wishes to keep alive; He saves him even from raging flames. Your sorrowful being won't evade my inevitable destiny. But yes, prayers have a power. They restore the heart's calm. Allah has Himself said in the Holy Quran that He is protector and defender of all. By stating: *alaa kulli shay-in qadeer* - Allah has taken responsibility of every soul. He has already promised us: *Anna haafizunnaa'sukaleem* - I am everyone's protector. If Allah's order - *la takhafu wal'la tahzanu* - is absolute, then why

to worry, fear? But for now, my homecoming is impossible — as all roads stand sealed. I may go to Sialkot on foot if situation improves.

My greetings to all, and love to Tahira Sultana.

Khuda Hafiz,"²²³

About a month before being killed during the massacre of hundreds of unsuspecting Sialkot bound Muslim passengers who were waylaid and butchered, Umar Din in his last letter to his mother dated 18 *Asuj*, 2004 *Bikrimi*, corresponding to 4 October 1947, wrote:

It is getting painful over here. Each moment feels like a year. I have never seen such *zulm* before. Through telegraph I had informed you that my letter is on way. By the time this letter will reach you, I fear for my life. Jammu is burning, so are its adjoining areas. Muslims are being dragged out of their homes and butchered on roads. This is an organised pogrom against Muslims. The Muslim refugees are now taking shelter in Talab Khateeka. We can see big fire balls emanating from Muslim houses. Around 20,000 Muslim inhabitants of Bahu Qila's backside are living as refugees in Gujjar Pul's Tawi camp. Hindu military aren't allowing them to enter the city. Arson and loot are going on for over a week now. It is said that Sangh party men are behind this bloodshed. Not a single Muslim has retaliated so far. We remain awake throughout the night in horror.

His Highness Maharaja *Bahadur* has also arrived in Jammu. It is said that he has gone to Akhnoor. He must have seen those Sangh goons on his way. We were hopeful that the situation might improve after his arrival. But the situation is only worsening. We still hope that Maharaja will use his wisdom to restore some confidence in the city.

Jammu was never so dreadful, as it is now. Rumours are flying thick and fast, thereby escalating tensions. It would be great if Hindus and Muslim form peace committees

together. For last two days, I am sitting home. No Muslim professor, student is daring to step inside the college campus. From tomorrow, five days holiday has been declared. I wish, peace prevails during these days. Even road to Sialkot is hazardous. In Ranbir Singhpora, 16,000 Muslim refugees have taken shelter. I and Aziz Sahab's family have abandoned Peer Mitha house for safety. For now, we live with Malik Ghulam. Doda's Attaullah is also with us. Aziz Sahib's both daughters remain unwell. Even today, his son didn't make it to school.

Some of my clothes are with laundryman. Last month I purchased clothes worth Rs 80. I also bought first class suit for my bride. But given the situation, I fear that I may not be able to give it to her. A few people from Bhaderwah, Doda and Kishtwar are living with us, including a constable, Amkalu Khateeb, Abdullah Khan *Compo[un]der* and three students. One student is Khalil Kachru's son. He took Rs 10 as loan from me yesterday. The other two students are from Kishtwar. The boys tried everything to return home, but had to come back for the fear of their lives. But it is good that Bhaderwah is peaceful. Peace must prevail. However, I am yet to receive any letter from my home. I wish everything is fine there. I heard that Mirpur and Poonch have also become unsafe. Hiranagar, Samba and Jammu have already turned trouble spots. Even Srinagar is restive and witnessing demonstrations. The protesters there are being repeatedly cane-charged. Muslims from Jammu have abandoned their palatial houses. But in Mohalla Dalpatian and Ustad, Muslims continue to stay put.

All Muslim shops are shut, while those run by Hindus are open. They do normal business. Panic in Muslims has peaked after authorities told them that rioters have gone out of their control as well. I don't know what is cooking here. Khaliq Sahab managed to hire a lorry to Bhaderwah. Don't worry, Allah is for all. If our government wishes,

all Muslims are ready to go to Sialkot in one caravan. But nothing is being done. We have pinned our hopes on his Highness. Only he can restore the much-needed calm. By now, I believe, my bride must have made a new sweater for me. She should send it through Khaliq Sahab — if only he has made it to home. In case, she is yet to make it, let her send me an old one. I and Aziz sahib were thinking of hiring a lorry. Travel permit is being given by Governor Sahab. But who would muster courage to go to Mubarak Mandi to avail that. And yes, if someone is going towards Bhaleesa, then write a letter to my parents. Please inform them that they shouldn't go toward Kathua with essentials. They must stay in Bilawar area only, so that they can return quickly.

Blessings to all from my side. Stay cautious and stay in the group of 20 men. My love to Tahira Sultana and my bride.

Yours,

Umar Din.²²⁴

In the meanwhile, rioters had laid siege to the Muslim dominated areas of Talab Khateeka, Dalpatian and Mohalla Afghana. There was firing for about 5-6 days but the rioters did not dare to enter the Muslim congested areas, for there were some brave young boys whose presence in the area would deter attackers from taking such a step. The besieged Muslims were in desperation as every moment they feared attack on their houses. "Many families prepared poison drinks for their women and children so that they should die with their honour intact instead of falling into the hands of Hindu marauders."²²⁵ At Masatgarh, Ata Muhammad slaughtered his two teenage daughters with a knife to save their honour from the attacking mob.²²⁶ The house of General Samandar Khan of the Dogra Army and uncle of former Air Chief Marshal of Pakistan, Asghar Khan, in *mohalla* Dalpatian was the last refuge of the besieged Muslims where they

held positions.²²⁷ Captain Nasiruddin who had earlier worked in the political department in Gilgit assumed the command.²²⁸

The Muslim dominated areas in the city were denied water and food. There was complete nexus between the marauders, the Administration and the Army. Hindus had taken up positions on their houses situated at the border line of Lakhdata Bazar and Peer Mitha. They were later joined by troops from Patiala Army which was already in Jammu, and built bunkers in the houses of Hindus. The troopers who had come to protect the Muslims in Talab Khateeka and Urdu Bazar (now Rajinder Bazar) actually opened fire on them. Advocate Salahria's brother, Naseer Ahmad, was one among those killed.

Raja Sohbat Ali Khan's heroics during that awful time are now part of the folklore of Jammu. Khan who came from Mirpur in western Jammu Province, now in Pakistan Administered Jammu & Kashmir, was an exemplary police officer feared by criminals. During the time of violence he was in charge of Thana Gumat in Jammu city. He would rush with his contingent to any spot where he heard there was a trouble, arrest the culprits and parade them through the city roads. As long as he was around, Muslims of the city slept peacefully at night.²²⁹ One day he was called to the residence of the Superintendent of Police near Tawi River. Suddenly he heard screams of women and children and the sound of gunfire as if people were being attacked around the Tawi. He snatched a gun from a guard outside the Superintendent of Police's residence and ran in the direction of the gunfire. "Word spread quickly that Raja was fighting a large number of Hindus single-handed. Every Muslim in the city who heard the report began to pray for Raja's safety."²³⁰ He was killed fighting the marauders. As the news reached there, a pal of gloom fell on the Muslim localities of the city. His blood riddled body was later recovered from the

river by a group of youth who buried it with bare hands. Raja Sohbat Ali's and Raja Sarwar Khan's killing "adversely affected the atmosphere in Mirpur"²³¹ where Hindus had to migrate in the face of attacks on them and their property.

In the prevailing tension all kinds of rumours were spread about Muslims getting armed and attacking Hindus. This was done with a purpose and to justify what happened later. The Administration imposed curfew in the city but it was meant only for Muslim population. Hindus, especially the rioting mobs, moved about freely in streets under the full gaze of the army. Ved Bhasin recalls:

The houses of Hindus in Kachhi Chhawni were used as arms dumps from where rioters would come out, board jeeps and roam in the city. The convoys of RSS activists would start from the house of Prem Nath Dogra, the *Praja Parishad* chief. Some Sikh refugees also joined them. They moved freely from lane to lane massacring people.²³²

The Administration ran a training camp at Rehari where Hindus and Sikhs were imparted training in the use of firearms. Ved Bhasin, who was advised by Chet Ram Chopra to send his volunteers for arms training instead of working for peace, and Balraj Puri sent two of their men to the camp to see what was going on there. They saw the army training a group of Hindu youth how to use a 303-rifle. On the one hand, Hindus and Sikhs were given arms training and on the other Muslims were ordered to deposit with the government whatever arms they possessed. A large number of Muslim soldiers in the State Army as well as those Muslim police officers whose loyalty the Administration suspected were demobilized. "Hindus and Sikhs were apparently given weapons taken from Muslims disarmed by the Maharaja's forces. These weapons were then used against Muslims."²³³

As Muslims in the city lay surrounded by danger,, the Administration acted upon a well thought of plan to bring them out and deal with them. On 5 November, the Government asked the besieged Muslims to assemble in the Police Lines at Jogi Gate for transporting them to Pakistan as there was 'threat to their lives in Jammu'. Captain Nasiruddin took the bait of Governor Chet Ram Chopra.²³⁴ Only a day earlier, Indian Home Minister, Vallabhbhai Patel, Defence Minister, Sardar Baldev Singh and Maharaja of Patiala visited Jammu and had a meeting with Hari Singh.²³⁵ In the absence of any material evidence it is difficult to establish a connection between the two developments but the fact remains that the visit happened only 24 hours prior to the fateful day of 5 November.

Muslims of the city assembled at the Police Lines. Vehicles were arranged for their transportation and the first batch comprising several hundred was huddled in about 40 to 60 lorries on 5 November. The lorries were escorted by the army but suddenly diverted from the road to Sialkot towards Digiana where troopers and armed *jathas* were waiting for them. Passengers were dragged out of the vehicles and killed. The soldiers either joined the killers or simply looked the other way while slaughter was on. Among the massacred was the family of Mehboob-ul-Haq, later Pakistan's Finance Minister and famous economist. One of the survivors was the daughter of prominent leader of Muslims, Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas, who was abducted.

Another survivor was Dr. Abdul Karim who was pulled out of the lorry and seriously injured. As many as 30 members of his family were shot dead before his eyes. His life was spared to let him go to Pakistan and 'weap there for his entire life', and if he could not reach there vultures will have a doctor's flesh to feast on.²³⁶ He was made to stand up facing Pakistan and kicked

in the back. An injured Karim somehow reached Sialkot. Mai Malan of Dalpatian also went through this ordeal and managed to reach Pakistan along with her two sons and daughter-in-law where her younger son, Ikram ul Haque, later became a noted teacher of physics and then a councillor in Pakistan Embassy in Austria.

At the carnage site, the blood stained lorries were washed before sending them back to the Police Lines. As the lorries arrived much earlier than expected to return from the border, 13 year old Shabir Ahmad Salahria along with his parents and brothers was waiting for his turn to be transported to Pakistan the next day. He suspected that something was wrong as vehicles could not have returned from the border so soon. Word was spread at the Police Lines that people who had left for Pakistan in the morning had safely reached there. Nobody at the camp knew the reality. They were waiting for the morning to travel to safety. Next morning, the action was re-played. There were more people in the lorries than on the previous day.

Among the ill fated passengers on the second day, besides Salahrias, was Abdul Aziz Bhat, Head Master of Hari Singh High School and later Registrar of Jammu & Kashmir University, his young wife and two little daughters aged two and a half years and six months. The vehicles were again diverted towards Samba instead of driving straight to Sialkot. Those familiar with the route asked the reason for diversion and were told that there was some problem on that side and hence the alternate route was taken. The diversion was according to the plan. As the vehicles covered some distance the passengers, to their shock, saw armed gangs on prowl. Within minutes, mayhem started. The lorries were attacked and unarmed passengers killed in hundreds. The killers looted whatever jewellery women possessed. Reflecting on the tragedy Bhat recalls:

I had my eldest daughter, Masooda, in my lap while my wife was holding the infant. As I came out of the lorry, somebody shouted 'fire'. Mayhem followed in which people were falling dead or running for cover. A bullet hit me in the hand. Holding Masooda close to my chest, I observed blood dropping on my clothes but had no idea about what had actually happened. I was looking for my wife. There was a canal where traumatised women had taken shelter in water. My wife was one among them. On seeing me, she came out of the canal. Suddenly, she noticed that Masooda was motionless, soaked in blood, and her viscera had spilled out.²³⁷

There was no burial of the dead. The corpses lay scattered all over the area. Broken with pain and grief, Bhat slipped little Masooda's body into the canal to give her funeral in water. There was no count of the dead. Bhat recalls having seen among the slain Professor Umar Din of the Prince of Wales College. Before being stabbed to death allegedly by one of his own students, the Professor was heard asking a group of wailing women near the canal: "Protect your honour - even if you have to jump into the river."²³⁸

Shabir Salahria was pulled out of the lorry by an attacker. He ran for cover behind the nearby reed but was dragged out by a soldier who wanted to shoot him. In the meanwhile, a gang of rioters armed with swords and spears attacked him. He sustained grievous injuries in arm, head and back and fell unconscious. The attackers took him for dead. He regained consciousness at about noon and saw two of his neighbours among the scattered corpses. His two younger siblings, Nazir Ahmad and Salahuddin, had also survived but his parents had been killed. Salahria estimates about 600 to 700 people being killed in the carnage that day.

In the Jammu city, Ustad Mohalla more or less remained untouched by violence although attempts were made to harm

the Muslim inhabitants. A local wealthy Hindu, Bakhshi Hardat, posted his armed men in the lanes to thwart attacks by rioters.²³⁹ Prem Nath Dogra, leader of the *Praja Parishad*, himself lived in the area and did not want the situation there to get out of hand.²⁴⁰

Abduction of women

Apart from killing tens of thousands of people and forcing even a larger number to migrate to Pakistan, an unspecified number of Muslim women were abducted from different parts of the Jammu Province. Most of them were not returned to their families and in many cases Hindus and Sikhs forcibly married them. The abducted women were subjected to rape and in many cases smuggled out to different parts of India. Although the number of such unfortunate victims will be never known there are some estimates which say that 25,000 women were abducted from the Province. However, Muhammad Yusuf Saraf considers this figure on the higher side and "a liberal estimate".²⁴¹

The Muslim Conference believed 5000 to be a rough estimate of the abducted women.²⁴² Many of these unfortunate victims were recovered later. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's deputy, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, who became Prime Minister of the Indian Administered Jammu & Kashmir in 1953 after Abdullah was deposed and imprisoned, is credited with recovering many abductees from their tormentors. "He would personally enter into the houses of the Hindu Rajputs, recover abducted Muslim girls and arrange their safe dispatch to Pakistan to join their kith and kin."²⁴³ Abdullah's wife, Begum Akbar Jahan, helped in organizing camps and rehabilitating many rescued women.²⁴⁴

Among the rescued was the daughter of Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas. She was sent to his father in Pakistan where he and his colleague, Allah Rakha Sagar, had been dispatched

by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in exchange of Brigadier Ghansara Singh²⁴⁵ and few others. Munilal, a Hindu of Jammu who shared a close relationship with Abbas "played a big part"²⁴⁶ in the recovery his daughter. Munilal visited Abbas in Pakistan several times and at one such occasion a sumptuous feast was arranged for him in which legendary cricket players of Pakistan, Hanif Muhammad and his brother, Wazir Muhammad, were also invited.

Abduction of women did not confine to one or two particular areas but happened almost everywhere where Muslims were attacked. On 22 October 1947 when reportedly 14,000 people were massacred in Samba, "all the Muslim women in the village were apparently taken away by the State troops, and the men were slaughtered with the exception of fifteen survivors, who escaped to Sialkot".²⁴⁷ Likewise, during the massacre at Maogaon on 23 October in which 25,000 Muslims were slaughtered, their women and all their personal belongings were taken away from them by the Dogra troops.²⁴⁸

Nazir Ahmad of Mohalla Afghana in the old city of Jammu who was then 8 years old, saw young Muslim women being dragged by hair out of a camp at Ustaad Mohalla, bundled into waiting army trucks and driven away.²⁴⁹ The unfortunate victims had lost their parents, husbands and brothers to carnages. Nazir broke down while recounting the horrific incident which is haunting him ever since. The women, who he believes were in hundreds, had been rescued from different areas of Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur districts and were lodged in a camp from where they were forcibly lifted and smuggled, possibly, to Punjab. In many cases, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah squarely blame the RSS activists under Prem Nath Dogra for kidnapping Muslim women from such camps.²⁵⁰

The story of Razia Begum, daughter of Chowdhary Abdullah Khan of Chak Jafar village in Mishriwalla, Akhnoor Tehsil of Jammu district is one of the umpteen shocking tales of the period.²⁵¹ Her father was a Member of the *Praja Sabha* under Maharaja Hari Singh's rule. Razia in her mid-teens was married in Darsopur village of Miran Sahab few months before anti-Muslim violence broke out in Jammu. Her grandparents-in-law and a brother-in-law were killed in violence. When Muslims of the area were gripped with fear the head of her family gave his womenfolk in the custody of a Hindu acquaintance. The custodian of the women betrayed him and handed over the women, including Razia, to rioters. The women were herded into a factory at Miran Sahab and then taken away. A man came with a gun and took Razia to his home. He was already married and his parents asked him either to drop the lady where he had picked her from or kill her. He did neither and instead took Razia to his sister's place but his parents objected to this upon which he took her to his friend, Thakur Balwan Singh. He told Balwan, a widower, to shelter Razia for a few days after which he will rent a house in Jammu city and keep her.

Balwan abducted Razia to Punjab and forcibly married her. He kept on changing locations for fear of being traced out. He had three children with her, including two daughters and a son, and passed away in Punjab in 1965. After Balwan's death, Razia returned to Jammu along with her children. On her return she was pregnant with her third child. One day in 1974, when she was in the Deputy Commissioner's office in connection with some land related matter she saw her sister-in-law [her Muslim husband's sister] but did not muster courage to meet her. On her next visit to the Deputy Commissioner's office, she gathered herself and knocked the door of the house and went inside. Her sister-in-law, Zainab, recognised her only by her voice.

Meanwhile, Razia's husband from her first marriage had remarried. On Zainab's insistence, she shifted to Dalpatian and took her two daughters along. Her son, by now a young man of 26, did not accompany her. The eldest daughter, previously Reva Rani as well as the second daughter who was born in Jammu, were given Muslim names. Razia's elder daughter was married with Zainab's son in 1979 and is happily living as a practicing Muslim. Currently, she is translating the Quran into Dogri language and has already completed 20 of the 30 chapters. After her daughter's marriage, Razia along with her younger daughter went to Pakistan where her parents had migrated in the wake of the massacre. Her father had expired and her mother and brother persuaded her to stay with them. Her elder daughter visited her mother and sister several times in Sialkot and is still in touch with her brother in Jammu who did not convert and has two children. Razia passed away in 1999.

Change in demography

Those who planned and executed massacres and forced migration of Muslims had succeeded in their design. The demography of the Jammu Province was significantly changed. In areas where Muslims were in majority they were reduced to negligible minority and there were villages which remained uninhabited for years. The fall in the proportion of Muslim population was significant in urban areas compared to rural areas. In urban Udhampur district we see a fall of 1757 per 10,000 (17.57%) from 2252 in 1941 to only 495 in 1961.²⁵² (No census was conducted in 1951) In urban Jammu district, the fall was recorded by 1781 per 10,000 (17.81%) from 3213 in 1941 to 1432 in 1961. The urban Kathua district represented a worse scenario with Muslim population ratio decreasing by 2887 per 10,000 (28.87%) from 3114 in 1941 to only 227 in 1961. The rural Jammu district was the worst hit. The proportion

of Muslim population here fell by 2972 per 10,000 (29.72%) between 1941 and 1961.

The Census Report of 1961 gives a fair clue of "the phenomenal fall in the rural population of Muslim Community in Jammu district during the last two decades [1941-1961] as a result of the mass migration to Pakistan of most of the Muslims who inhabited various tehsils of the district." According to the Report, the total population of Muslims in the district as a whole, as returned at the 1961 Census, is about one-third of what it was in 1941. In figures, it would mean that Muslim population in Jammu district had fallen from 160,158 in 1941 to 51,847 in 1961. In Jammu city, the fall was recorded by 3,441 persons during the same period.

In rural Kathua district the fall in Muslim population was recorded at 1118 per 10,000 (11.18%) during the same period. The Report is silent about Reasi district as by 1961 the administrative units had been reconstituted and it no longer enjoyed the status of a district.

As with the number of massacred Muslims, the number of those who migrated from eastern districts of the erstwhile combined Jammu Province is variedly given by different people. *Towards Azad Kashmir* [Lahore, p 119], published in 1948, gives a figure of 200,000 Muslims migrating to Pakistan "so far". By late November 1947, "Over 200,000 Jammu refugees had arrived in Sialkot".²⁵³ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan claims that "from the districts of Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur, no less than three lakhs of refugees poured into Pakistan."²⁵⁴ A Pakistani Government publication of 1952 [Gurmani M. A., *Kashmir: A Survey*, p 7] estimates the number to a high of 600,000. An article published in the *Dawn* on 2 January 1951 [quoted by Snedden] gives the total number of migrants as 500,000 who were believed to have arrived in Pakistan in 'three waves' of

migration between October 1947 and early 1949. Most of the Jammu refugees settled in Sialkot.²⁵⁵ The migrants also included those who left for Pakistan out of their choice and also those who were forced by the ruling National Conference activists to migrate. A correct figure of the migrants, as of the massacred people, is hard to arrive at.

The size of change in demography of the Jammu Province can further be appreciated by the Section on 'Uninhabited Villages' in the Census Report of 1961:

.. a large number of villages which were well inhabited till 1947 were completely depopulated consequent upon the migration of their population to West Pakistan and to the State territory on the other side of the Cease-Fire Line [now Line of Control]. Thus, while the number of uninhabited villages in Jammu district was only 13 both in 1941 and 1961, as many as 155 inhabited villages were completely deserted as a result of mass migration. In Kathua district also, the number of uninhabited villages had risen from 7 of 1941 to 43 in 1961. The latter include, among others, 31 depopulated villages.

Sheikh Abdullah's indifference?

Could the Government have arrested migration of Muslims to Pakistan? Expecting such an attempt on the part of the Maharaja's Administration would be naive as it was actively involved in violence and changing the demographic character of the Province. However, when power was 'transferred to people' and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was made the Emergency Administrator the new dispensation too did not do anything tangible towards this end. In fact, two of the three major waves of migration took place while Abdullah had already stepped in. He was accused of encouraging migration of Jammu Muslims and in many cases he and his National Conference activists were

blamed for forcing or pushing political opponents across the border. Balraj Puri, though, believes that Abdullah could not do anything as there was diarchy and Mehar Chand Mahajan was in real control in Jammu.

Shabir Ahmad Salahria is not as charitable. According to him Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah believed that it was good if Muslims of Jammu migrated to Pakistan and in fact, a few thousands of them who had fled to Kashmir too were deported by him. Krishan Dev Sethi makes a serious allegation against Abdullah:

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah could have arrested the migration of Muslims from Jammu but he did not. Apparently, he tried for it but not as much as he should have. I and Moti Ram Begra, who was later Member of the Indian Constituent Assembly, went to him and requested him to stop the migration. We told him that if this was not done the demography of Jammu will change. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah retorted, '*Jammu ke musalmanu ne mujhay kab leader mana hai*'? (Muslims of Jammu never recognised me as their leader).²⁵⁶

When Abdullah, as Head of the Emergency Administration, arrived in Jammu he was shown documentary evidence of involvement of the Administration and the RSS activists but instead of proceeding against the killers he tried to appease the Hindu communalists. Ved Bhasin recalls, "I do not know why but perhaps his feeling was that the Muslims in Jammu were not his supporters. Wazira Begum too believes that Abdullah cared less about the plight of Muslims of Jammu for "they did not recognise him as their leader."²⁵⁷ Two other eyewitnesses, Om Chopra, 95, of Purani Mandi who now resides at Trikuta Nagar and Sudhir Kumar Sharma, 84, of Residency Road hold that Abdullah did not act when on his arrival as Head of the Administration at Jammu he was asked to stop violence

against Muslims.²⁵⁸ While Maharaja Hari Singh was accused of presiding over "an administration which thought of altering demographic profile to prevent the political change", Abdullah was "out of touch of Jammu province since as far back as in early 1940s and therefore when his time came, he did not bother much to what was happening in south of Pir Panjal."²⁵⁹ Zafar Choudhary quotes a 'prominent Jammu Muslim', Ahmed Din known as Chacha Choudhary, recalling how Abdullah mocked and laughed at a delegation of Muslims of Jammu who called on him in December 1947 to share their grievances. Ahmed is quoted as recalling:

Sheikh gave us audience after two hours of wait and when we entered the room he stared at us and briefly laughed before saying that he was surprised to see us still in Jammu. Where are those Choudharys with big turbans...I thought you people accompanied them to Pakistan.²⁶⁰

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah holds a different view. According to him the remainder of Muslims who survived the massacre wanted to go to Pakistan after what they had undergone in Jammu. He tried to dissuade them from migration and offered them every help for their resettlement but they thought their remedy was in reaching Sialkot. Their desire to migrate to Pakistan was "respected and they were boarded in lorries and sent across the border through Suchetgarh."²⁶¹

Abdullah either did not have the sense of tragedy of the Muslims of Jammu or chose to downplay it when, as a member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, on 5 February 1948, he told the Security Council that there was "some very bad retaliation" in the Jammu Province after "thousands of Hindus and Sikhs were uprooted from the villages and towns in the Kashmir Province and found their way into the Jammu Province."²⁶² He was talking of 'some' retaliation (never mind,

very bad) and it being the consequence of uprooting of Hindus and Sikhs from the Kashmir Province. However, in his autobiography published 38 years later, he has a different story to tell. He recalls:

On the one hand, we were busy repulsing the tribesmen from Kashmir and, on the other, Maharaja Hari Singh was trying to stoke communal flames in Jammu. It so happened that after fleeing from Srinagar when he reached Ramban, he had fired the first salvo to instigate the Hindus against the Muslims. When he arrived at the Ramban Rest House to take some rest after a tiring travel, he asked for tea. As ill luck would have it, the bearer who brought tea was a Muslim wearing a Rumi cap. On seeing him, the Maharaja lost his cool and refused to drink tea. After reaching Jammu, the Maharaja and Maharani Tara Devi, like frustrated cats, began to scratch the pillar. To avenge their embarrassment, they distributed deadly weapons among extremist Hindus and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh trained activists instigating them to wipe out the Muslims. A similar group was headed by Professor Balraj Madhok who dipped his hands in the blood of innocent Muslims of Udhampur and Reasi.²⁶³

The violence in the Jammu Province consumed tens of thousands of people, hundreds of thousands were driven out, women were abducted and raped and habitations torched and looted. All this happened and not a single FIR was lodged nor any enquiry ordered into the systematically executed carnages. Abdullah is believed to have attempted an enquiry against Mehar Chand Mahajan and Maharaja Hari Singh but the initiative was allegedly scuttled by Jawaharlal Nehru.²⁶⁴ According to Mohammad Yusuf Saraf, Abdullah had started collecting evidence against the duo to prove their complicity in the genocide. Notwithstanding this, Abdullah remained in power for six years post-November 1947 but nothing is known about any official attempt to enquire one of the most gruesome

man-made tragedies of our times nor does he give any idea in his autobiography, *Aatashe-i-Chinar*, about such an attempt.

Abdullah's successors also slept over the matter as if nothing had happened during those bloody months of 1947. In fact, many of those who had soaked their hands in the blood of Muslims were rewarded by the Government. *Tehsildar* Chander Udhay Singh who supervised massacre at Ram Nagar was placed under suspension by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah but was subsequently reinstated by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. Some of those who led riots in Udhampur and Baderwah later joined the National Conference with some even serving as ministers. The RSS head, Chuni Lal Kotwal, became minister in Bakhshi's regime. So did Amarnath Sharma of Udhampur.²⁶⁵

Dr. Karan Singh, who was appointed as the Regent in 1949 - after his father, Hari Singh, stepped down as the ruler - and later served as the *Sadr-i-Riyasat* and Governor of Jammu & Kashmir for a long time, maintains screaming silence over the Jammu massacres. This writer approached him in December 2011 and February 2012 with a questionnaire regarding his father's alleged role in the killing of Muslims and his own silence on the subject but did not get any answer. A request for an interview was also not acceded to. "What would Karan Singh say? His father was involved in the massacre", observed Krishen Dev Sethi when asked why the Heir Apparent chose to avoid these questions.²⁶⁶

Queries under the Right to Information Act made by the present author about the number of people killed and migrating from Jammu in the wake of violence in 1947, role of the Administration and if any enquiry was ever conducted or is going to be conducted remained un-replied by the Jammu & Kashmir Government's General Administration Department, Home Department and the Divisional Commissioner Jammu's office.

The victims of Jammu carnages still wait, some in body and the rest in soul, for justice which has eluded them all these decades. A Truth & Reconciliation Commission to go into the horrendous events is long overdue and alone could alleviate their pain.

EYEWITNESSES TO BLOODSHED

REMINISCING personal tragedy is the most taxing experience. If the tragedy was of the magnitude that the Muslims of Jammu went through in 1947, its narration by an eyewitness or a survivor is like scratching raw wounds. Most of the people who lived through that horrifying time have since travelled to the other world, but a few of them who are still around carry nerve-jangling stories. These people have walked through macabre incidents, reading about which alone drives a chill into one's spine. Every year on November 6, when the martyrs of Jammu are remembered, their wounds are reopened. Seven decades down the lane, the chilling reminiscences still haunt them.

The present author tracked down some survivors and eyewitnesses in different parts of the Jammu Province, especially at Reasi, Chenahni and Jammu, the three worst sites of 1947 carnages, and persuaded them to recount the macabre incidents. These include Krishan Dev Sethi, Ved Bhasin, Professor Abdul Aziz Bhat, Chowdhary Shabir Ahmad Salahria, Mehmood Ahmad Khan, Balraj Puri, Chowdhary Fateh Muhammad, Wazira Begum, Haji Muhammad Bashir, Jamal-ud-Din and Abdur Rashid Kanth. Their account forms an important thread in the

most horrific, systematic and yet the least talked about massacres enacted in the subcontinent on the eve of the Partition of India. The stories in first-person account are reproduced verbatim here.

Krishan Dev Sethi

Born in Mirpur, now in Pakistan Administered Kashmir, on 15 November 1927, Krishan Dev Sethi is a prominent political activist, author, editor and a regular columnist. He got involved with political activities when he was barely 15 and still at school. He took part in the fight against the oppressive Dogra dispensation and the callous feudalism then prevalent in Jammu & Kashmir, especially in Mirpur. Sethi actively participated in the Quit Kashmir Movement and was imprisoned. He has a Masters in Persian, the examination of which he took as a prisoner in the Mirpur Jail. In all, he has served four years in jail and also remained underground for eight years during 1960s when the Government was looking for him for the 'crime' of propagating peace with China.

Known among his friends and admirers as Comrade Sethi or Sethi Sahab, the 90 year old living encyclopaedia of J&K's political history, lives in Mohalla Dalpatian in Jammu. Initially, he was associated with the National Conference and worked closely with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other top leadership of the party including Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Raja Akbar Khan, Sardar Budh Singh, Maulana Syed Masoodi *et al.* He participated in the first annual session of the National Conference at Baramulla in 1940. Later, he served as Member of the J&K Constituent Assembly. Ideologically, he is close to communism and has met with many prominent communist leaders within India and outside. In 1953, he parted ways with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and later became one of the active members of the newly floated Democratic National Conference (DNC) which was allegedly formed to downsize Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. However, when others like Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq and Durga Prashad Dhar returned to the fold of the National Conference, Sethi stayed put with the DNC.

Currently, Comrade Sethi is the General Secretary, Democratic Conference and edits a daily newspaper, *Jidd-o-jihad* (The Struggle). He has penned a book, *Yaad-e-Rafta* (Old Memories) and two volumes of his articles based on his political commentaries have also been published. He is a regular contributor to the daily *Kashmir Uzma*. Earlier, he served at important positions in the National Conference but always distanced himself from power. In 1975, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was reinstalled as the Chief Minister after, what his close confidante, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, termed as '20 years of wandering in the wilderness', he asked Sethi to join him but the political recluse politely declined by invoking the famous saying of the Prophet of Islam that a believer would not be bitten twice at the same place.

For his impeccable integrity and political views, Sethi Sahab is admired by a large section of the people on both sides of the LoC. Personally, he favours independence for Jammu & Kashmir as a geographical unit as it existed before 1947. However, he believes that people of all the regions of the erstwhile princely state will have to arrive at a consensus on the future of Jammu & Kashmir. A close watcher of developments in Jammu & Kashmir since 1940s, he is a witness to the communal frenzy that swept the Jammu Province in 1947 and claimed tens of thousands of Muslims.

About the 1947 violence, Comrade Sethi spoke thus²⁶⁷:

There were both external and internal factors responsible for what happened in Jammu in 1947. Externally, communal politics in the United India was at its peak during 1940s. At the time of the Partition, the country was engulfed by communal frenzy. Jammu being contiguous to the United India could not remain unaffected. As a result, communal riots erupted in the Province both in Muslim majority and Hindu majority areas. Non-Muslims in Mirpur and Poonch met the same fate that was meted out to Muslims in Jammu. There was large scale migration of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs from the areas where they were in minority.

So far as internal factors are concerned, in the Jammu city the Maharaja and his Administration played an important role in flaring up communal riots after Hari Singh arrived from Srinagar in the wake of the Tribal Attack. Muslims in Jammu city were under the influence of the Muslim Conference. Maharaja Hari Singh played a significant role in promoting and pampering the RSS. Important RSS leaders like Balraj Madhok, Kedar Nath Sahni, Vijay Malhotra and Madan Lal Khurana remained stationed in Jammu as in-charge of RSS during 1940s. Violence against Muslims was organised and could not have taken place if the Maharaja and his wife had not actively supported it. Governor Chet Ram Chopra and Deputy Inspector General of Police, Bakhshi Udhay Chand, also played a vital role. The Administration participated in the massacre. Organised armed Hindu *jathas* went as far as to Bhimbhar.²⁶⁸ The Muslims there resisted these attacks. The resistance groups included Colonel Habibur Rehman, second in command of Subhash Chander Bose's Indian National Army (INA), who had accompanied him in the ill fated plane but, unlike Bose, survived the crash.

In the Jammu city, Muslims resisted the onslaught of Hindu rioters in areas like Talab Khateeka and Dalpatian. In Ustad Mohalla, local Hindus repulsed the attackers and saved their Muslim neighbours. The *Praja Parishad* leader, Prem Nath Dogra, himself lived in the area and did not want the situation there to get out of hand. The Government ultimately ensured ceasefire between the warring communities in the city and told Muslims that they will be escorted to safety. Batches of Muslims who left the city on this promise were attacked at Digiana, Kunjwani and Miran Sahab and many were killed.

The lower areas of Jammu like R.S. Pura had Muslim majority population that migrated *en-masse* to Pakistan. Similarly, from areas like Akhnoor, where they represented half of the

population, and Samba tehsil with substantial number of Muslims, their migration was on a major scale. In the upper areas like Reasi, there was huge destruction. A major massacre of Muslims took place there. Rishi Kumar Kaushal, who was later a favourite of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, was among the killers. At Ram Nagar, the *Tehsildar*, Chander Udhay Singh, son of Maharaja's ADC, Brigadier Faqir Singh, on directions from Hari Singh, supervised massacre of Muslims. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah later placed him under suspension but he was subsequently reinstated by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.

There were many Muslim officers from Mirpur posted in Jammu who were killed. One of them was Raja Sarwar Khan who was the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* of Udhampur which then included areas of Ramban, Doda, Kishtwar and Bhaderwah. He was a *Rajput* of secular outlook. He had good relations with Hindu *Rajputs* and even participated in inter-community dining which then could not be even spoken about. Khan was killed under a conspiracy. One Amarnath Sharma who later became a minister in the Bakhshi Government, told him that the *Raja* of Chenahni, who too was a *Rajput*, had sent a word for him to shift there for safety. When he left for Chenahni, his car was ambushed a mile away from Udhampur and he was killed in cold-blood. In another incident, Raja Sohbat Ali Khan, Station House Officer of Gumat²⁶⁹ Police Station, was killed when he went to rescue some Muslim Gujjar families who were being harassed across the River Tawi.

These killings in Jammu adversely affected atmosphere in Mirpur. Raja Sarwar Khan's brother, Murawwat Khan, in fact, shouted at the Hindus, "*Kafiro Raja Sarwar Khan ne tumhara kya bigaada tha jo usko qatal kiya?*" (You apostates! What wrong had Raja Sarwar Khan done to you that you killed him?) There were

some miscreants in Mirpur whose presence made me to migrate from there to Jammu.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah could have arrested the migration of Muslims from Jammu but he did not. Apparently, he tried for it but not as much as he should have. I and Moti Ram Begra²⁷⁰ requested him to stop the migration of Muslims. We told him that if this was not done the demography of Jammu will be changed. Abdullah retorted, "*Jammu ke musalmanu ne mujhay kab leader mana hai*"? (Muslims of Jammu never recognised me as their leader). The migration of Muslims continued and, in fact, most of the Muslims migrated after Abdullah came to power.

I was close to Allah Rakha Sagar. Ideologically, he was a socialist. He was a great man and orator. *Chowdhary Abbas Sahab ke saath to alaik salaik thi*. (With Chowdhary Abbas I was only formally acquainted). If the two had stayed put in Jammu and not been deported, it would have generated confidence among the Muslims to stay back. I discussed the idea with Sagar while he was lodged in Kathua jail along with Abbas. He did not give a clear answer but warned me against discussing the matter with Sheikh Abdullah. However, when I met Abdullah I somehow touched the subject. Soon after, Sagar and Abbas were dispatched to Pakistan in exchange of Brigadier Ghansara Singh, Thakur Sehdev Singh, Colonel Majid Durrani and Molvi Ghulam Mustafa, a relative of Maulana Muhammad Syed Masoodi. From there, Sagar sent me a letter through Molvi Muhammad Alam²⁷¹, *Imam* and *Khateeb* of Darhal Jama Masjid in which he had written, "*Akhir kaar saabit hogaya ki Mirpur ki sarzameen bhut comradun ke liye raas hai* (Finally, it is proved that the land of Mirpur is suitable for an ordinary comrade)", referring to my speaking to Sheikh Abdullah and the latter deporting him.

Colonel Adalat Khan was the ADC to Maharaja Hari Singh. I had also requested him not to leave Jammu as there was lot of destruction here that needed somebody like him to rebuild. He said that he was ideologically a Pakistani but if I want him to stay put he will. I suggested to Sheikh Abdullah to send him as Administrator to Bhaderwah where there was communal tension. The Kashmir Militia had been set up recently. The Colonel asked for Apurab Somnath Bakhri to be sent with him. Adalat Khan soon restored peace there but a year later migrated to Pakistan.

As regards Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas and Karan Singh not writing about the Jammu massacre, the former was in jail when the carnage took place and was deported to Pakistan soon after. So far as Dr. Karan Singh keeping silence over the subject is concerned, what would he write about? His father was involved in the violence. Initially, Hari Singh had good relations with his son but when the latter became *Sadr-i-Riyasat* he felt Karan Singh had joined hands with his enemies and that his mother was also supporting him. From then onwards, he would not even talk with him and lived in Bombay, away from his family, where he eventually died.

Kashmir has suffered a lot but the role of Jammu in the freedom struggle has not received due acknowledgement. Writers from Kashmir have overlooked this role which in many ways has been bigger than that of Kashmir. Mirpur was the only place in the State where Martial Law was imposed by the Maharaja for the people rising against his rule. The Burma Act was imposed there. The role of *Majlis-e-Ahrar* is unforgettable. Its members were martyred at Suchetgarh and Mirpur. During the *Maalia Agitation* of 1931, Sadiq Shah and Baata Khan of Mirpur were hanged in Jammu Jail. Raja Sultan Khan of Bhimbhar was arrested by Gulab Singh and his eyes were gouged. His body was

stuffed with *bhoosa* and kept hanging for serving as deterrence to others. During the Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and 1971, people in Rajouri, Buddhal etc., suffered more than people of Kashmir. The role of Raja Akbar Khan and Molvi Ghulam Haider of Mirpur cannot be forgotten.

When Sheikh Abdullah returned to power in 1975 he invited me to join him but I declined. I was never interested in power and have always been comfortable being away from it. In fact, when the Sheikh called me and extended his invitation I told him, "*Aap to Musalman hain. Aap ko pata hoga ki aap ke Paighambar ne kaha hai ki aik moomin do baar aik hi jagah se dasa nahi jaata*" (As a Muslim you should be knowing that your Prophet has said that a believer is not bitten twice from the same spot.)

Throughout my life, I have fought communal forces. Communalism, whether Hindu or Muslim, is a curse. As long as there is communalism there is danger to peace. The Hindu communalists have again tried to vitiate the atmosphere in Jammu but on the basis of their experience in 1947, I think the people have turned wiser and would not allow the repeat of those horrible times.

Ved Bhasin

Ved Bhasin or Vedji, as he was fondly known, was a pioneering editor who institutionalised English journalism in Jammu & Kashmir. He died on 5 November 2015 at the age of 86. Born on 1 May 1929, Bhasin was the founder Editor of the *Kashmir Times* which under his stewardship served as a training centre for many a budding jurno who are now independently holding important beats in the media industry. The newspaper was very popular for almost always taking on the government and exposing its inadequacies and flaws.

A witness to the tumultuous events of the history of Jammu & Kashmir since 1940s, Bhasin extensively wrote about and commented on politics of the State. Vedji was a young college student in 1947 when

Jammu witnessed massacre of its Muslim population. As a student activist, he along with some like-minded Hindu youth of Jammu stood up against the storm of communal violence but the forces of evil were too huge and mighty to let their effort succeed. Bhasin never minced words in identifying the real culprits of the massacre and spoke about it without any inhibition. His write-up '*Experiences of Partition: Jammu 1947*' unveils the tragedy and the actors involved in bloodletting in the Jammu Province.

Vedji recalled the bloody events of 1947 in Jammu thus²⁷²:

Maharaja Hari Singh was nursing an ambition of being the sovereign of an independent Jammu & Kashmir. His ambition had been kindled by his palace astrologer, Rajguru Swami Sant Dev. The Swami had told him that he would become the great emperor of a Hindu Kingdom comprising besides Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, parts of the Punjab. The RSS too at that time was in favour of an independent Jammu & Kashmir. Even National Conference was of the same view and if the Maharaja and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were not at daggers drawn and if the former had agreed to be a constitutional monarch the situation would have been different today.

The RSS was supportive of the Maharaja's ambition. In fact, on 15 August 1947 when India and Pakistan celebrated their freedom, pro-Maharaja organisations in Jammu like the Hindu Rajya Sabha and the RSS put up banners across the city roads with the Maharaja's flag proclaiming him as 'the ruler of a sovereign, independent Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh, Tibet etc. After the formation of the popular government headed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah when the Students Union hoisted the Indian National Flag and the National Conference Flag on the Prince of Wales College these were torn by the RSS supporters next morning. The tearing apart of the flags was followed by an attack on the Union activists.

At the time of communal violence, there existed trust-deficit between the two main communities in Jammu. In contrast to the 1943 Roti Agitation when Hindus and Muslims joined hands to protest against the famine conditions in Jammu, the politics in 1947 was totally divided on communal lines. There was no mixing of the communities and politically Hindus and Muslims were on the opposite sides. The climate was tense, gripped by fear, panic and uncertainty. In the absence of any authentic information, rumours spread like wildfire. All kinds of stories were circulated about the Muslims arming themselves and planning to attack the Hindus. The rumours were spread to justify the killings that took place later.

The Administration had asked all Muslims to surrender their arms and also demobilised a large number of Muslim soldiers in the State Army as also the Muslim police officers whose loyalty was suspect. The Administration was hand in glove with the rioters. Although curfew was clamped in the city it was practically meant to be imposed against the Muslims only. Armed gangs of Hindu rioters moved freely on the streets. Some houses of Hindus in Kachhi Chhawani were used as arms dumps from where rioters would come out, board vehicles and roam in the city.

The RSS played a key role in the violence and was joined by armed Sikh refugees who even paraded through the streets of Jammu brandishing swords. Convoys of the RSS activists would start from the house of Prem Nath Dogra, the *Praja Parishad* chief. They moved freely from lane to lane attacking and killing people. The riots were planned and ironically some of those who led the riots in Udhampur and Baderwah later joined the National Conference with few even serving as ministers. The RSS head, Chuni Lal Kotwal, later became a minister in Bakhshi's regime. So did Amarnath Sharma of Udhampur.

The situation in the city was grim. Muslim localities of Talab Khateeka and Mohalla Ustad were besieged and inhabitants were denied water and food. In the lower parts of the city, Lakhdatta Bazar and Peer Mitha Bazar were the dividing lines between the Hindu and the Muslim population. Many Muslims outside the Muslim dominated areas were killed by marauders who moved freely in vehicles with arms and ammunition even when the city was officially put under curfew. Though Colonel Peer Muhammad and some other prominent Muslims had put up white flags on their houses, the rioters made many efforts to attack them. The Hindus had taken up positions on their houses situated at the border line of Lakhdatta Bazar and Peer Mitha. They were later joined by troops from Patiala Army. The army built bunkers in the houses of Hindus. The Muslims in Talab Khateeka area too built defences with whatever arms they could gather. Later, some reinforcement was provided to them by the Muslim Conference.

The killing of Muslims in the peripheries of the city was already going on and within the city too brutal attacks were carried out. Many Gujjar men and women from the surrounding villages who supplied milk to the city were killed enroute. In the meanwhile, a large number of middle class Muslim families of the city had slowly migrated to Pakistan but the fear-stricken majority remained besieged in their localities. The Government asked them to surrender and assemble in the Police Lines at Jogi Gate, the present site of the Delhi Public School. They were assured of safe passage to Pakistan. There were some of our friends also. On 5 November, a large number of them was loaded in about sixty Lorries to take them to Sialkot. The vehicles were escorted by troops but were diverted towards Digiana Ashram Canal where the army and rioters dragged them out and killed them in cold blood.

The dead included Professor Rashid and the family of Mehboob ul Haq [later Pakistan's finance minister]. Professor Ishaq escaped. While the first batch of Muslims taken on the promise of transporting them to Pakistan on 5 November was attacked and most of them killed, people at the Police Lines camp were told that they had safely reached Sialkot. On the second day, another batch of Lorries carrying unsuspecting Muslims was taken out and subjected to planned killing. Instead of trying to prevent the killings and preserving communal peace the Administration helped and even armed the communal marauders. Clearly, it was a planned genocide and the killers enjoyed full State protection.

I will mention two incidents to show that the Administration was involved in the killings and changing the demographic character of Jammu. I was the General Secretary of the Students Union and had published a poster titled '*Insaniyat Ke Naam*' (To Humanity), urging for communal amity and peace between the communities. Governor Chet Ram Chopra who lived in Kachi Chhawni, sent a word for me to meet him. I was distantly related to him as my paternal aunt was married to one of his cousins. I met him and he told me to desist from issuing appeals for peace and refrain from "your nefarious activities". He said that if I were not his relative he would have me arrested. Chopra told me that the Hindus and Sikhs were facing threat from Muslims and we need to train them in firearms to face the situation. The training was imparted in a camp at Rehari. The Governor asked me to forget about working for communal harmony and instead send our volunteers for training in firearms. A Hindu-Sikh Defence Committee was formed with Lala Dina Nath Mahajan as its President. Mahajan later became Finance and Revenue Minister during the Bakhshi regime. Chopra told me to get in touch with Mahajan. I discussed Chopra's suggestion with

Balraj Puri and we decided to send two persons to see what was happening there. They saw soldiers training the RSS youths in the use of 303 rifles.

Another incident involved Prime Minister Mehar Chand Mahajan²⁷³. He called a meeting where besides the Hindu Maha Sabha, the National Conference was also invited. Three or four leaders including Girdhari Lal Dogra, Trilochan Dutt, Om Saraf and myself as a student leader, attended. Mahajan said that power was being transferred to people and Hindus and Sikhs should demand parity with Muslims. Om Saraf asked how was that possible as they were in minority. Pointing towards the forest area adjacent to the Maharaja's palace where corpses of recently butchered Gujjars were scattered, Mahajan said "the population ratio can change."

We had formed the Students Peace Front and were working for communal peace. Unfortunately, we did not succeed. Our efforts were drowned in the sea of violence abetted by the State itself. We were isolated. I and Bhupinder Singh, an active member of the Students Union, saw rioters entering Darogar Mohalla where they killed all the members of a washer-man family and some others. Singh tried to dissuade the rioters from killing people but was run after by a Sikh rioter brandishing a sword. There were corpses also scattered all over in the Ramnagar *rakh* in front of the Maharaja's palace. A colleague of mine, Gurcharan Singh Bhatia, during a morning stroll one day, heard shrieks of a child and found a small Gujjar girl crying near the bodies of her slain parents. He brought her from there and we handed her over to Litto Gosh, wife of the communist leader, Ajay Gosh, at a rehabilitation camp.

About one lakh Muslims were killed at different places in the Jammu Province. There were massacres of Muslims in Akhnoor, Kathua and border areas also. The killings also took

place in Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Doda. In Doda, the family of Sheikh Abdur Rehman²⁷⁴ was massacred. Mass killings also took place at Billawar and Basohli. There were reports of large scale killing of Muslims in Udhampur district, particularly in proper Udhampur, Chenahni, Ramnagar and Reasi also.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah came to Jammu on 16 November 1947. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was with him. We collected 200-300 students at the Parade Ground where Abdullah addressed the first public meeting. He appealed for peace and calm but unfortunately did not condemn the killings in Jammu with the force he should have. In fact, he did not make even adequate mention of it. When we presented documentary evidence to him about the involvement of the State Administration and the RSS in the killings, instead of taking action, he tried to appease the Hindu communalists. He did not intervene. I do not know why but perhaps he felt that the Muslims of Jammu were not his supporters. He could have intervened although Mehar Chand Mahajan and Janak Singh were still holding office.

The communal violence was not one-sided. A large number of Hindus and Sikhs were also killed in some parts of the Province like Rajouri and Mirpur. The killings in Mirpur started with the murder of two Muslim officers in Udhampur and Jammu.. The Hindus were mostly killed, while they were on their way to Jammu, by the Muslim communalists joined by some members of the INA. Mass killing of Hindus and Sikhs also took place at Alibeg. Killers on both sides had no religion. In fact, it was humanity that was the victim of the marauders.

Professor Abdul Aziz Bhat

Professor Abdul Aziz Bhat came from a remote hilly village Kalhotran in Bhalessa tehsil of Doda district in the Jammu Province where he

was born on 26 July 1916. A survivor of the 1947 massacres, he was one among the first Muslims of his area to pursue higher education despite a modest family background. He did his graduation from the Prince of Wales College, Jammu and M.A. L.L.B. from Aligarh Muslim University. He also did a year-long training course in England during mid-fifties. Kashmir was his second home where he spent many years working in the education department on different assignments including as the Registrar of, first, the Jammu & Kashmir University between 1962 and 1969 and later, Kashmir University.

Bhat also served as Secretary, Jammu & Kashmir Board of School Education, Principal, S. P. College and Inspector of Schools. After his retirement from Government service in 1974, he joined the Muslim Educational Trust, Sopore as Principal, and held the position till 1981. One of his earliest postings was as Lecturer at Intermediate College, Mirpur where among the students was Krishan Dev Sethi, a living chronicle of the post-1947 tumultuous history of Jammu & Kashmir. Honest, truthful, upright and a spirited social worker, Prof. Bhat passed away on 7 August 2016, twelve days after he had completed 100 years of his life.

The heart-rending story of Prof. Bhat, as narrated by him²⁷⁵, follows:

I was Head Master of Hari Singh High School where I had been posted in 1946 following my transfer from Mirpur. The situation in Jammu was palpable. There was tension and scare in the atmosphere and Muslims were afraid of venturing out of their homes. There had been incidents of killing of Muslims outside Jammu city and many people who had survived these attacks had poured into the city. One morning at our Talab Khateeka home, when we woke up there was this word making the rounds that Muslims of Jammu city have been asked to assemble in the Police Lines so that they could be shifted to some safe place. Announcement to this effect was being made by the Government.

Some people who ventured out to know what was being announced were not allowed to return. We were about to have our morning tea when one of the persons somehow managed to return and asked us to pack up immediately and proceed to the Police Lines. In panic, we collected few things and left for the Police Lines where a large number of Muslims - men, women and children, young and old- had collected, unaware of where they were being taken to. When this question was asked to those who were collecting people they replied that it was unsafe for you to remain in the city and you are being escorted to a safe place. They did not identify this 'safe place' but it was understood that they were talking about Sialkot²⁷⁶. People were huddled in vehicles. While the older people and women got accommodated inside the Lorries the young climbed the roof tops of vehicles.

On the second day, when our turn to leave the Police Lines came, I had my wife and two little daughters, aged two and a half years and six months respectively, with me. Due to my wife's efforts, we got some space inside the vehicle. Soon after the lorry crossed the Tawi Bridge, it was turned to the left on the Samba road instead of proceeding straight to Sialkot. Those who were familiar with the route to Sialkot asked they were being driven towards Samba. There was a hue and cry in the vehicle. Those who were shepherding us said there was some problem on that side and so this route was being taken to transport us to safety. When the vehicles covered some distance, there were gangs of armed people waiting on the road. They stopped the Lorries and asked passengers to come down. We heard gunshots and were gripped by panic.

Those who were travelling on rooftops of the vehicles jumped down and ran for safety. The armed gangs were shooting them down. Women were dispossessed of jewellery. I had my eldest daughter, Masooda, in my lap while my wife was holding

the infant. As I came out of the lorry, somebody shouted 'fire'. Mayhem followed in which people were falling dead or running for the cover. I have no idea as to how many people were killed but killed there were scores of them. I remember Prof. Umar Din, who taught Persian at the Prince of Wales College, Jammu, as one among the martyrs.

A bullet hit me in the hand. Holding Masooda close to my chest, I observed blood dropping on my clothes but had no idea about what had actually happened. I was looking for my wife. There was a canal in which traumatised women had taken shelter. My wife was one among them. On seeing me, she came out of the canal. Suddenly, she noticed that Masooda was motionless, soaked in blood, and her viscera had spilled out. The innocent little girl had been martyred. The bullet, severing my left hand thumb, had pierced her body and the poor child, without a moan or cry, had died in my lap. Holding my daughter to my chest and myself dying with pain, I had been walking towards the canal unaware that I was actually carrying the corpse of Masooda. This was literally a *qayamat* on us. There was no burial of the corpses. We slipped little Masooda into the waters of the canal. That was how my eldest child got her funeral.

As we were helplessly waiting for our turn to be killed, some army personnel appeared on the scene and had the firing by the rioters stopped. The survivors were told to board the blood stained vehicles. Some men washed blood marks on these vehicles. We also boarded a lorry and were informed that we will be taken back to the city. The evening had set in. After the vehicle crossed the Tawi Bridge we were told that the injured would be taken to the hospital but minutes later they informed us that there was no space in the hospital and the vehicle again turned back. We were then taken to an open field near Gandhi Nagar where survivors of similar attacks were assembled. In the

dead of the night, at about 2 a.m., we were dumped there. For about five to six days we were in that camp knowing nothing about what was in store for us. There were many other people who had met with similar tragedy a day earlier when the first convoy of the Muslims was driven out of the city with the promise of taking them to Pakistan. Our caravan that left the Jammu Police Lines on the second day had no inkling of what had befallen on them a day earlier.

One day during our stay at the camp, some government officials came there and told that they had to get gazetted officers out of here. Since I was also a gazetted officer I was asked to board a vehicle. I insisted that my wife be also allowed to leave with me but they refused. However, as I declined to leave without her, she was also allowed to accompany me. I was taken to the army hospital at Satwari where I met an injured soldier Naseeb Singh who was my class fellow at Bhaderwah. He facilitated dressing of my wound and return of my wife to her parental house at Talab Khateeka. Then I was taken to Government Hospital for treatment where one of my acquaintances, Dr. Janki Nath, nursed my wound for few days. From here, I shifted to the house of my in-laws.

Asking Muslims to assemble in the Police Lines for taking them to a safe place was a ploy. The Hindu rioters were afraid of invading the Muslim congested area of the city. There were some brave young Muslim boys whose presence in the area would deter attackers from taking such a step. It is very likely that rioters in league with members of the State Administration worked out and implemented this plan of massacre of the Muslims of Jammu city."

Chowdhary Shabir Ahmad Salahria

Chowdhary Shabir Ahmad Salahria was a senior advocate of the Jammu & Kashmir High Court and a survivor of the 1947 Jammu Massacres. Born on 25 December 1934, he escaped, with grievous injuries, carnage on 6 November 1947 when Muslims of Jammu city were herded into vehicles on the promise of transporting them to Sialkot but were waylaid midway and massacred. He lost his parents and a brother to the violence. Their family house was occupied by a Sikh refugee family from Muzaffarabad. It took a long legal battle for Salahria to reclaim the property in 1966. Advocate Salahria did his graduation from Kashmir, worked as Naib Tehsildar for a brief period to raise money for pursuing a degree in law at the Aligarh Muslim University, unsuccessfully fought elections against formidable politicians like Dr. Karan Singh and Janak Raj Gupta, joined the Bar and twice served as the Advocate General of Jammu & Kashmir, besides being elected to the upper house of the Indian Parliament. He also edited an Urdu weekly newspaper, *Al-bayan* for four decades. He breathed his last on 20 July 2017 at the age of 83.

Salahria recalls the gruesome incidents thus²⁷⁷:

Following the Partition, there were Hindu, Sikh-Muslim riots in the Punjab and other parts of India. A good number of Hindu and Sikh migrants including the injured came to Jammu. There was also Tribal Attack on Kashmir and, as a result, Sikhs had to flee from Baramulla and Muzaffarabad. Most of them came here. All this created an atmosphere of tension and anger. The uprooted migrants won the sympathy and support of local Hindus. In the meantime, the Maharaja also had to flee from Srinagar. His wife, Tara Devi, leaving her hair open, came out on the streets wailing and told the people that their Maharaja had been dethroned by Muslims in Kashmir. This worked as fuel to the fire. The Maharaja's army had also returned defeated from Poonch, Rajouri, Newshehra and Kashmir and was nursing a grudge against the Muslims. All this contributed to a situation

where the Muslims of Jammu found themselves caught up in a precarious situation and were literally butchered.

The role of Maharaja Hari Singh in fuelling communal riots cannot be overlooked. He was responsible for encouraging attacks on Muslims. The Maharaja visited many places and instead of dousing communal flames encouraged rioters. My father, Chowdhary Ferozuddin Salahria was the District Forest Officer, Kathua. There was a Muslim police officer, Saifuddin, also posted there. Sensing danger, the duo decided to leave Kathua and return to Jammu. To avoid identification and trouble, my father had left Kathua in a Hindu dress. When he reached home I could not recognise him. He told that he saw the Maharaja surrounded by people who were boastfully informing him about the number of Muslims they had killed. The Maharaja patted their back and encouraged them. Had Hari Singh not lost the balance the situation might not have turned as bad as it did.

The killing of Muslims in the outskirts of Jammu city had started two months back. Scared people were fleeing to Pakistan in groups and, in ignorance, were carrying even their cattle with them. Many were waylaid by rioters and killed. This happened at several places. In the city, tension had been building up and ex-filtration of the Muslim population began. The well-off Muslim families were the first to migrate to Pakistan. Others were also waiting in the wings but Pakistan stopped the rail service to Jammu. This was perhaps done to pressurise the Maharaja to quickly decide about the future of the State. The migration adversely affected demographic character of the city.

The Hindu rioters laid siege of Muslim dominated areas like Talab Khateeka, Dalpatianin and Mohalla Afghana and attacked them. For five to six days, firing continued. The besieged Muslims tried to defend themselves. There was a

complete nexus among the rioters, the Administration and the army. The Patiala Army that came to Talab Khateeka and Urdu Bazar²⁷⁸ to defend the Muslims actually opened fire on them and killed them. My brother, Naseer Ahmad, was among the victims. Governor Chet Ram Chopra who was himself involved in the massacre, ordered the besieged Muslims to assemble at the Police Lines on the promise of taking them to a safe place.

On 5 November, the first *qafila* of Muslims was taken out of the Police Lines camp in vehicles with the assurance of taking them to the border for cross over to Pakistan. We were in the camp waiting for our turn. I was then 13 years old. My parents and two younger brothers, Nazir Ahmad, 11 and Salahuddin, 9, were with me. The vehicles that had taken the first batch of Muslims returned soon and I sensed that these have come back much sooner than it would ordinarily take them to reach the border and return. I told about this to my mother also. On the next day, i.e., 6 November, the second batch left the camp and our family was part of it. That the people who had left a day earlier had been waylaid and murdered was not known in the camp. Soldiers of the Patiala Army escorted our vehicles. As we reached Satwari, the vehicles suddenly turned left and drove towards Samba. We were told that there was some problem on the Miran Sahab road. After covering some distance in fear we reached a place along a canal where *jathas* of the Hindu and Sikh rioters had laid an ambush. They stopped us and started killing and looting.

The soldiers who had escorted us joined the rioters and we realised that they had come to kill us and not protect us. I was pulled out of the vehicle by one of the attackers. I ran for cover behind the nearby stalk of reed but was dragged out by a soldier who aimed his gun at me. Luckily, I was very close to him and he could not open fire. In the meanwhile, a group of armed

rioters encircled and attacked me with swords and *nezhahs*. I was grievously injured, sustaining severe wounds in the arm, head and back, and fell unconscious. The rioters perhaps took me for dead. I must have remained in such a condition for about two hours. When I regained consciousness, the Noon-gun was fired to announce the time in the city. There were corpses scattered all around. I noticed two of my young neighbours among the dead. My two younger brothers had somehow survived the massacre and had traced me. I enquired about my parents and they said that both had been killed. The number of those killed in the massacre was anywhere between 600 and 700.

Among survivors, the injured were asked to board vehicles for taking them to hospital. Few vehicles were washed of blood stains and we were loaded in them. The Sikh Superintendent of the Government Hospital refused to admit the injured, arguing that he cannot guarantee their safety. Then, we were taken to a camp at Digiana. There were other survivors of the massacres who included the injured and sick.

After Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's arrival in Jammu, we were shifted to a camp set up in a school. My brothers took me to hospital where my wounds were bandaged. The Administration impressed upon the Muslims that it was unsafe for them to stay in the city and they were banned from entering the interiors. They were plainly told that they have to leave the place. The Government later dispatched a large number of Muslims to Pakistan.

I also wanted to migrate to Pakistan and one day, along with my two younger brothers, went to the Guest House where Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was staying. He had a Pandit typist who did not let us meet him. As we were returning dejected, we heard someone calling us, "Boys what is the matter?" It was Bakhshi Sahib enquiring from us why had we come there. I

told him what had befallen us and that we want to migrate to Pakistan. He enquired from us if we had some accommodation at Srinagar. We had a house at Shivpora and when I told him about it he advised us not to go to Pakistan and assured that he would instead have us sent to Srinagar. He gave me a chit carrying which we went to the Parade Ground where migrating Muslims were transported to Srinagar. Nobody agreed to give us lift until a Pandit driver who was proceeding to Kashmir with a truckload of salt, allowed us to board his vehicle. We sat on the gunny bags of salt and reached Srinagar in two days. Our eldest brother, Bashir Ahmad Salahria, was already at Shivpora in connection with recruitment in the army.

Prior to the riots in Jammu city, relations between the Hindus and Muslims were good but not very good. On religious festivals, tension and clashes would break out between the communities. During the riots, houses including ours were looted by rioters. The empty houses of Muslims were occupied by Hindu and Sikh refugees. Our house was occupied by a Sikh from Muzaffarabad. We had to move the court and obtain a decree to get the possession of our house back.

The Administration was actively involved in the killing of Muslims. The police, army and the civil administration aided and abetted the massacre. A large number of Muslims who had migrated from outskirts wanted to come to the city for safety. They were not allowed by the Maharaja's army to cross the Tawi River. They had no food and shelter and were starving. News reached the city and a Muslim Station House Officer who lived next to our house went to rescue them and bring them to the city. He pleaded with the army personnel to let them go as they were starving. The army shot the police officer dead then and there. This happened the same day when my father arrived in a Hindu dress from Kathua.

One day, after we had arrived in Srinagar, some men in plainclothes came to us to record our statement about what had happened with us in Jammu. I do not know if it was part of some investigation and if they were policemen. There were some rescued ladies and girls who had been abducted and raped whose statement was also taken but I am not aware of any FIR having been lodged or any enquiry instituted into the Jammu massacres. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah did not stop the migration of Muslims. He was of the view that it was good if Muslims of Jammu migrated to Pakistan. In fact, a few thousands of them who had fled to Kashmir too were deported to Pakistan by him.

Mehmood Ahmad Khan

Mehmood Ahmad Khan is a resident of Reasi, a district of Jammu Province, and scene of a massacre. He was a small boy of about 7 years when Muslims of Reasi were attacked and butchered in 1947. Five members of his family, including his parents and three siblings were killed by rioters before his eyes and he was twice taken for slaughter at a river bank but was miraculously saved. A Hindu gave him shelter and converted him to Hinduism. Later, he was reclaimed by his Muslim neighbours.

Khan's is a depressing story which in his own words goes like this²⁷⁹:

I do not remember the date but the time was about 3 p.m. I was bedridden with fever. My mother came and asked me to get up as there was firing going on outside. Rioters had looted Ahmad Shah Kalla's shop and stolen his goods. They put our house on fire and we took shelter in Kalla's house. It was a big 3-storied mansion and many Muslims of our locality took refuge there. The rioters started firing at the mansion. The inmates were gripped with fear. As the night fell, a shell was fired on the house from a nearby hill for which a *toap* had been fitted there earlier. The building developed cracks but did not collapse. Lest

the house fall down, the inmates came out and took shelter in the adjacent house of Mian Nizamuddin, the *Wazir* of Raja of Poonch.

The Muslims were besieged by rioters and then the killing started. They caught hold of people and killed them in cold blood. My father, Ghulam Nabi, was also killed. Corpses were littered everywhere. Some Muslims who had come to Reasi from other areas for safety were also killed. I heard about Rishi Kumar Kaushal²⁸⁰ and his colleagues, Sansar Chand Abrol and Ram Lal Kohli's active involvement in the killing of Muslims in Reasi.

The rioters searched houses, pulled out survivors including women and children saying that they will be taken to Pakistan. They looted jewellery and other things and raised slogans of *Gov Mata Ki Jai* (Victory be to Mother Cow) and *Hindustan Zinadabad* (Long live India). The survivors in the town were collected in the premises of the court. There were one or two thousand of them, mostly children and women. Then the killing took place. People were killed in large numbers. The survivors were kept in the court premises for three days upon which it was said that they would be taken to Pakistan. I was also among them. My brother, Muhammad Maqbool, aged 10-12 years was snatched from his mother and killed.

We were then taken through Rajbagh to the banks of the Chenab River at Dera. We had started at 4 p.m. and reached there in the night. Some women hid themselves behind bushes. Some were killed and some were raped. The rioters were drunk. Some women along with their children jumped into the river. We were a family of 11 members including three sisters. My father and a brother were killed in Reasi. My elder brother Abdur Rashid, a *Patwari*, was also killed. My mother, Saja, along with her one year old son, drowned in the river while trying to save her daughters. In all, five of our family members were killed.

In the morning while we were on the river bank a *jatha* came and said we will take you to Pakistan. They collected some logs, tied them together and made a platform. They said you will be taken in turns. My sister, Sardar Begum, told them to kill or take all of us together. They made my two sisters and two children of one of my sisters sit on the logs and pushed them into the river. Mother jumped into the river to save them and was drowned along with her infant son, Yunis.

We were left only two of us - I and one of my sisters. We started for Reasi, sobbing. A man saw us and asked where we were going. We told him that we are going to Reasi. He said you will be killed there. He was a Hindu and took us to his house and kept us there for two days hidden from everyone. A band of rioters came and told him that he was sheltering Muslims and asked him to hand us over to them or his house will be burnt down. He handed me over to them but did not give away my sister. They took me to the river bank where an aged lady had also been brought. They put us on a wooden log and pushed it into the river. I do not know where we floated along the current when the log broke into pieces and five to six men brandishing swords and guns brought us out of the water. The old lady died there and I was taken by a man to his house in Jeeri village where I stayed for about a week.

A band of rioters came there too and asked the man to hand over the Muslim boy he was sheltering in his house. He handed me over to them. They had also brought a Muslim lady and her daughter from somewhere. The three of us were again taken to the river bank. They made us sit there for about three hours. God knows what were they up to? A young man appeared there and rebuked them for killing women and children. He told them that they were not doing right and caught hold of my arm and took

me away. The two ladies were left behind. The young man who took me with him was in the army and his name was Makhan.

Makhan took me to his home in Khairian where I stayed for about a fortnight. I was not treated well there and was given insufficient food. Then a Brahmin named Birbal took me from there and I was with him for about two years shepherding his goats. He converted me to Hinduism and rechristened me as Gulabo. A function was held to convert me at the hands of a *Pandit* during which fire was lit, hymns were recited and *havan* performed. I also started spotting *choti* and was told if somebody asked my name I should not tell my real name but the assumed name, Gulabo.

The place where I would take goats for grazing was known as Peel Baruta. A few Hindu boys would also bring their goats for grazing there. We would play together. One day a *hakeem* of Reasi, Pandit Durga Dutt, passed by and sat under a big *Bud* tree to take some rest. I recognized him and hid myself behind the trees. The boys took me to him and told him that Gulabo says that you belong to his place in Reasi. He recognized me and caressed my head and tears came out of his eyes. I also started weeping. The boys consoled both of us. He asked me to accompany him back to Reasi. I told him that I had brought goats to graze upon which he told me to take them back and return quickly. Those days, boats would ferry people across the river at a specific time in the morning and afternoon. As I took long to return the *hakeem* had gone back telling the boys that he would come back next time to take me with him. Once, the goats entered into somebody's field I was ruthlessly beaten by Birbal who broke my head and I bled profusely. The old lady of the house came and saved me from further thrashing.

The *hakeem* had returned to Reasi and told Haji Akbar about me and insisted on getting me back. Haji sent a man, a

butcher by profession, in my search. He reached Khairian and told Birbal that the boy was theirs and he would take him back. Birbal let me go. I was scared of going with a butcher lest he might try his knife on me. I started weeping but was consoled and eventually accompanied him. He brought me to Reasi where there were no Muslims left except a handful of them. My *choti* was shaved. Haji Akbar mostly remained outside Reasi. I stayed with one Haji Samad Shah. There, I was a destitute, not getting enough to wear and eat. Haji Samad Shah sent me to Jammu with the intention of dispatching me to Pakistan.

At Ustad Mohalla, Haji Ahmad Din worked as a tailor at the shop of Master Shareef-ud-Din. He did not let me go to Pakistan. One day, I went to the residence of Master Shareef-ud-Din and requested him to let me stay with him. He obliged and had me also medically treated. I stayed with him for one year. Then my uncle, Sikander Khan who was a dyer at Reasi, came and took me back to Reasi. When I reached the age of 19, I joined Police where I served for 8 years before proceeding on leave to never return. It so happened that in 1965 some armed guerrillas from Pakistan had sneaked into Mahore sector and we, ten policemen, were sent there to fight them. Our men deserted leaving behind four of the boys including myself. We hid ourselves in a bunker and returned to Arnas the next day. After this, I proceeded on leave and did not report back on duty.

Once a person from Jammu went to Pakistan and visited Pasodi Mohalla in Sialkot where one of my sisters also lived. When she came to know that someone from Jammu had come there she went to meet him and enquired about me. He told her that before 1947 he lived in Reasi upon which she asked him if he knew Haji Akbar. The man replied in affirmative and she gave a letter for him enquiring about me. It was 1981-82. As it turned out, my two sisters and two nieces who had been pushed

into the river on a wooden plank at Dera had safely crossed the Chenab and reached Pakistan. I sent a letter to my sister and thus correspondence between us started. Then I visited her in 1983 and saw her after about four decades. I stayed there for about four months and then returned.

After about 45 years, I visited Khairian and met those 'boys' who grazed cattle with me. We recognized each other and had tea together. I also visited the house of Birbal but, sadly, he had passed away.

Balraj Puri

Born on 5 August 1928, Balraj Puri was a secular minded social activist, journalist and author. He was a witness to the 1947 carnage and, like his forest officer father, Shanti Swaroop, worked for helping the victims of anti-Muslim violence. A strong votary of human rights and regional autonomy in Jammu & Kashmir, Puri passed away at 86 on 29 August 2014 after prolonged illness. He was conferred one of the highest Indian civilian awards, *Padma Bhushan*, for his contribution in the field of literature and education.

Puri closely watched the violence in Jammu and worked with some like-minded youth to douse the flames. His eyewitness account establishes official connivance in the massacre of Muslims. Here goes his account²⁸¹:

The killing of Muslims in Jammu was well organised. Pouring in of refugees from Pakistan could be an external reason for the massacre but the main reason was internal. Arms were openly distributed among Hindus to encourage attacks on Muslims. The hand of the Administration was clearly visible. I sent a telegram to the Government from Reasi informing that threat to Muslims there was looming large. Instead of sending security for their protection, a *jatha* of Hindu communalists came to me on the second or third day and their leader asked where was the danger and that they would like to go there and

see. It was a strange situation. These were the people against whom I had warned the Government through a telegram and here they were demanding to know where lay the danger. Obviously, the Government machinery was hand in glove with them and actively involved in the massacre. How else would the rioters have known about the telegram?

The situation in Reasi was tense. We had formed a Peace Committee comprising members of the two communities to diffuse situation and inspire confidence among the Muslims. My father, Shanti Swaroop, a forest officer, represented the Hindus. As the meeting of the Peace Committee was on, a Hindu mob arrived. They comprised rioters who had come with arms from Jammu. The leader of the local Muslims said if Shanti Swaroop accompanied him he would show where the danger existed. My father snatched the gun from the leader of the Hindu mob and threw it away telling him mockingly to learn how to carry the gun before using it. In the meanwhile, the Muslims of the area collected in the office of the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*. A Hindu mob attacked them. They told the Muslims to convert to Hinduism or face death. Then the killing started. My father ran to the *Wazir-i-Wazarat's* house and pleaded with him to have the killing stopped.

It is said that when Hari Singh fled from Kashmir, he told people, who had collected on the way, to finish the Muslims. Whether or not, he incited people to kill Muslims there is no doubt about his indirect involvement in the bloodshed. He had the RSS leader Guru Golwalkar as his personal guest. His *Rajguru*, Sant Dev, also played a dubious role.

In Jammu city, there were two camps of people – one that was working for peace which we represented and the other that indulged in the killing. Our intervention could avert killings at a few places but we were not able to inspire confidence among the Muslims to put back in Jammu. They told me, "You are

alone. How can you protect us?" I had no influence with the Government. The Hindu communalists had vitiated the atmosphere and flamed passions. A destitute Muslim boy was brought to me. I had no place to keep him. I suggested them to take him to Prem Nath Dogra who gave a *berukha* answer. This way I wanted to test him. God knows what happened to that poor boy.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah could not do anything about the killing. He had no control. There was diarchy. Mehar Chand Mahajan was in control. When Sheikh came to Jammu we held a meeting and stressed on communal harmony. It had little effect and some people dropped their arms. No FIR was lodged against killers, nor was any enquiry instituted into the bloodshed. I had differences with the Sheikh on putting under the carpet what had happened in Jammu. I also wrote in newspapers about it.

Chowdhary Fateh Muhammad

In 1947, Chowdhary Fateh Muhammad was a young boy, having passed his Matriculation two years back. Hailing from the border area of R. S. Pura, his family heavily suffered in the anti-Muslim violence in Jammu. He escaped to Pakistan but soon returned to Jammu where he later served two terms as Member of the Upper House of J&K State Legislature.

Chowdhary had the following recollection of those bad times²⁸²:

We lived in Darsopore village of today's R. S. Pura tehsil. The tehsil had a population of 46,000 with 40% Muslim representation. However, our village had about 70% Muslim population. People were uncertain about the future of the State and most of them migrated to Sialkot. The tragedy befell those who stayed back.

I do not remember the exact date but it was the month of October as rice crop in the fields had ripened. The Muslims

of the village had assembled at one place when rioters attacked them. There was mayhem. The attackers comprised Sikhs who had migrated from Pakistan and were joined by lower caste Hindus. They freely indulged in the killing of men, women and children. Women's jewellery was snatched.

My grandfather, Wali Daad alias *Billu Thekedaar* (Billu, the Contractor), my grandmother and my paternal aunts were also killed in the attack. My mother and my sister were separated from me. There was this Shankar Das Padha, my friend, who was employed as an engineer in the power department. He saved my life by sheltering me in his house and also rescued my mother and sister. The rioters, about a thousand in number, were armed with swords and firearms and indulged in killing and loot. The attack was made during the day. The tragedy befell our relatives also and there were families in which two to four members each were killed.

Shankar Das accompanied me to the border with Pakistan and I crossed over to Sialkot where I lived for two months with a *Sayyid* family. Back in Jammu, my friend Shankar also arranged migration of my mother and sister to Sialkot about a fortnight after I had reached there. As refugees, we got a house for us allotted there. I was jailed in Pakistan for two years on the suspicion of working for India. We were against Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas and suffered for this difference of opinion with him. We Gujjars were supportive of the Maharaja who wanted an independent Jammu & Kashmir. In 1953, I returned to Jammu. My mother also returned after about six months while my sister remained in Sialkot. My nephews are still there and in 1977-78 I visited them on a visa in connection with a marriage ceremony. I was twice a Member of the Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Council.

Khawaja Abdur Rauf

Rauf belongs to the Kalla family of Reasi whose house was used as a shelter by the Muslims before it was bombed by an artillery fire from a nearby hillock. The family patriarch, Ahmad Shah Kalla, was killed while stopping rioters from attacking the Muslims of the town. Rauf, a post-1947 born, has inherited from the family legend the graphic account of the Reasi Massacre which goes like this²⁸³:

The Muslims in Reasi town were generally well off. My grandfather, Khawaja Ama Shah Kalla headed a large family of about 40 members including his 11 siblings. There was tension in Reasi. The Gujjars in Kandi area had been attacked and some injured had come to the town for security. The Muslim youth were restless and angry. Some prominent Muslims including Ama Shah Kalla and Abdul Aziz Bhat, a *Panch*, had reached an agreement with Goverdhan Singh, the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* of Reasi, and the local Hindus including Vakil Tej Ram that both communities will refrain from attacking each other. But Singh was actually hand in glove with the rioters.

It was 19 *Katak* 2004 of the *Bikrimi* calendar (corresponding to 4 November 1947) when a band of 500 to 600 armed Hindus arrived in Reasi. The preparations for attack had been made at Jammu. The armed men camped at the Sher Bagh. Ama Shah Kalla, Abdul Aziz Bhat and Muzaffar Ahmad, a judge, went to the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* and informed him about the presence of the armed band in the town and their apprehensions about attack on the Muslims. The *Wazir-i-Wazarat* undermined the development and denied that any armed men had arrived in the town. He was lying and obviously was up to some mischief. Ama Shah Kalla confronted him but to no avail.

The three men decided to go to Sher Bagh but, having no faith in him, refused to take the *Wazir-i-Wazart* with them. Instead, they chose Shanti Swaroop, a forest officer, to accompany them.

The four of them went to the Sher Bagh to dissuade the armed men from committing any mischief. Ama Shah Kalla told them that the local Hindus and Muslims have constituted a peace committee and decided to maintain communal harmony in the area. They did not hear his plea and one of them pulled out his sword and killed him on the spot. Aziz Bhat and Muzaffar Ahmad were also killed. Shanti Swaroop could not do anything but feel helpless. He returned and shut himself in his house.

The rioters and the Administration worked hand in glove. The incident happened at 8 in the morning. By 10 a.m. a group of 10 to 15 armed Hindus appeared in the market and looted the shop of Ama Shah Kalla, decamping with over a hundred canisters of ghee. When they were asked why they were looting the shop they replied that guests were arriving in Reasi and they have to cook food for them. Those 'guests' were actually the armed rioters coming from outside Reasi. When the food was cooked the rioters came from Akhnoor side and Kandi areas of Jammu. About 15,000 of them descended on Reasi. Around 2.30 p.m., gunfire was directed from Kalka Mandir towards the residential houses of Muslims. Ama Shah Kalla's brother, Abdul Karim, a handsome youth, was killed. The rioting started and Muslims were butchered. The corpses were burnt after pouring kerosene on them. Before the massacre, Muslims had sent telegrams for help to the recently instituted Emergency Government of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah but no help came. The surviving and besieged Muslims assembled in the house of Ghulam Mustafa Bhat and hoisted a white flag.

Our house was located close to a Hindu locality and in the face of violence the family felt very scared. Mehtab Begum, sister of Ahmad Shah Kalla, went to the top floor and held a rifle for protection of the inmates. She did not move out of the house and stayed put with her two sisters and four children, Abdul Jaleel, Abdul Jameel, Mehmooda and Maqsooda. She

held the fort for three to four days during which killings in Reasi continued. When there was nothing in the house to eat they came out in the night but were stopped by the army and taken to the bus stand. Other people had also been brought there. The rioters planned to take all of them to the river bank, kill them and throw the bodies into the river. Shanti Swaroop's house was nearby. He took the girls to his house for safety and then had them shifted to jail to avoid attack on them by rioters.

When Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah came to know about the massacre in Reasi he lamented and sent Home Guards there. After 15 days, he visited Reasi. Shanti Swaroop and Dr. Chadda informed him about what happened there. He brought the girls out of the jail and took them to Srinagar with him. He also sent the Home Guards to Gool to find out any survivors from Ama Shah Kalla's family. Abdul Samad and Kalla's son, Abdul Gani, came to Jammu from there.

Rishi Kumar Kaushal fired at fleeing unarmed Muslims. Abdul Samad saw him firing at them. Out of the total 8,000 Muslims in Reasi only about 250 escaped death. The rest were killed. Of the survivors, only about a dozen stayed in the town and the rest fled to Pakistan. Those who stayed back included Abdul Gani Shah, Hassan Deen Sheikh, Haji Akbar, Ghulam Muhammad Kumhar, Sabir Ali Faqeer, Mehtab ud Din Gujjar, Noor Muhammad Halwayee, Malik Hassan ud Din, Yusuf Girdawar, Bahadur Ali, Sikander Khan and Masoom Ali Faqeer. Their families were wiped out and each one of them was left alone. Out of the 40 members of our extended family 26 were killed.

Hari Singh visited Reasi about a fortnight after the massacre. He was accompanied by his wife and son, Karan Singh.

Wazira Begum

Wazira Begum, in late eighties, is a former Member of the J&K Legislature. Her family was victim of a massacre in Udhampur, Jammu. She hails from Dudu Basantgarh in Udhampur district and currently lives in Jammu city. She broke down while narrating the gruesome incident and her horrible experience. Here goes her story²⁸⁴:

The killing of Muslims in Jammu was a secret plan of the Government. The Maharani was part of the conspiracy. There was talk of Pakistan coming into existence and Muslims migrating there. Then Pakistan was born and many people went there. The poor remained behind. Tension was gripping the atmosphere. One of my father's acquaintance, Thakur Dhanattar Singh told him to move out for safety as refugees were coming from Pakistan and the injured among them were being paraded in Jammu city to arouse passions against the Muslims. He advised him to go to Sialkot but my father said they would go to Dudu Basantgarh. Dhanattar Singh advised him against going there as it was an unsafe place. The Muslims, he feared, would be roasted like pop corn. My two brothers aged 20 and 8 were killed in Jammu. Mother was also killed. She was 36.

Muslims of Dudu Basantgarh, Muslims fled towards Marmat. From my maternal side about 70 people were killed. The local Muslims were collected in the mansion of Colonel Abdur Rehman and burnt alive. Those who fled towards Bhaderwah were saved. Udhampur also saw similar carnage. There, children were cut into small pieces and cooked with rice to be served to survivors of the massacre. When women noticed tiny fingers in the food they were hysterical and cried inconsolably.

At village Sailan Da Palad, a huge fire was lit in which bodies of the Muslims were thrown. A hit list had been prepared according to which people were called out and killed. Master Sheikh Ghulam Hussain, a God fearing man, was summoned.

He had a copy of the Holy Quran in his hand. One of the killers told him: 'You recite *azan* at a high pitch. Now call your God to save you.' He did not wait for the rioters to kill him. Reciting the verses of *azan*, he jumped into the fire and was roasted alive. He was about 37 years old. His father, two brothers, two young sons and a brother-in-law were also killed.

My maternal grandfather's name was also in the hit list although he had died a year earlier. Colonel Abdur Rehman was saved but his entire family was wiped out. Rehman and Ghulam Nabi Naayi, a local resident, were the only two men who survived by running away from the rioters. Rehman later remarried at the age of 70.

My father-in-law, Abdullah Malik, was a literate man. He was a forest lessee and remained mostly out of home. He had heard about the conspiracy against the Muslims and had sent a word to people back home to quickly move out. As they were moving out, their houses were burnt down. The rioters shouted at them to come back as they had arranged for their migration to Pakistan. It was a ploy to get them back and make the kill. Those who ran away were saved but those who could not or did not were murdered.

One day, Maharani Tara Devi visited the camp of the Muslim survivors where the tormented ladies shouted at her, "You whore! Why have you come here? May your son die! May your husband also perish!" When Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah visited the survivors in a camp at Jammu he was told about the atrocities committed on them. He told them that it happened to the Muslims of Jammu because they did not recognise him as their leader. He deported people to Pakistan. Hamid Ullah and Dr Gowhar Rehman were in jail. He brought them out and deported them to Pakistan blindfolded. My maternal uncle, Iqbal Bhat, was also deported blindfolded.

The riot-affected Muslims did not get a single penny even as Hindu and Sikh migrants from Pakistan received compensation.”

Haji Muhammad Bashir

Haji Muhammad Bashir is a resident of Chenahni in Udhampur district. He is about 70 years old and spoke on the basis of information passed on to him by his elders in the family and neighbourhood. What he narrated is as follows²⁸⁵:

My father, Qazi Muhammad Yaqoob Khan, was a tailor. Before tension gripped Chenahni he left for Marmat and from there went to Srinagar. Ours was a large family. When the killing began at Chenahni our family fled to Sudh Mahadev. A message was sent to those who fled from their homes that the Raja of Chenahni wants them back and if they return they would not be harmed. Our entire family returned. As it turned out later, it was only a trick to bring back the fleeing Muslims and finish them.

By now, groups of Hindus and Sikhs from outside had arrived in Chenahni. They laid seige around our house. The head of the family asked everybody to take a bath and slaughtered the women of the household lest the rioters outrage their modesty. The dead included two young daughters of the senior Qazi Sahab, his wife, daughter-in-law and her two small daughters. There were six of them drowned in the pool of their own blood but saved from the killers' lust. When the attackers broke into the house they did not find a single live female member and killed Qazi Yusuf and Qazi Bashir, the duo that saved their women from being defiled by slaughtering them.

My unsuspecting uncle, Abdul Aziz, who was returning home, was killed near the village graveyard. His wife was also killed. His two sons, Akram and Ali, survived. Akram had hid himself in bushes and later rescued his tiny sibling Ali from the

lap of his dead mother. He lost his mental balance after being witness to this gory violence. Faqir Fateh Sain, a mendicant, too was murdered in his hut. There were 27 Muslim households of whom only three survived the bloodbath. The local mosque was burnt down. The Chenahni massacre happened on 10 *Katik* 2004 *Bikrimi*. The Maharani had instigated rioters to kill Muslims.

There were about 80 Muslims, women, children and infirm males, who could not flee. They were collected at one place and kept there for about a month. Later, they were taken out of Chenahni on the promise of transporting them to Pakistan, but were waylaid at Gangladi, Lower Kud and massacred.

Jamal-ud-Din²⁸⁶

Jamal-ud-Din was 15 years old in 1947 when the Muslims were attacked in Chenahni. His recollections of the violence includes active involvement of Raja of Chenahni in the killing of Muslims. Jamal recalls:

The *Raja* of Chenahni accompanied Hari Singh when the later fled from Kashmir in the wake of disturbances there. My uncle, Qutub-ud-Din, was one of his servants from his father's time. The *Raja* called him in the night and told him to leave for Marmat and return only after peace was restored. He told him not to tell anybody that there will be a *rola* in the morning here. He advised him to leave early in the morning. My uncle confided in the Muslims of the area and urged them to flee from Chenahni. However, barring three families, nobody listened to him. Only four families survived the carnage. Some Muslims like Muhammad Mukhtar and Nizam-ud-Din converted to Hinduism for fear of their lives but returned to their faith once peace was restored. Today, there are 60 Muslim families in Chenahni.

The Raja died a miserable death. He was afflicted with a disease that grew worms on his body. He died in April when

it was very hot. As the funeral pyre was lit a loud cloudburst caused heavy rains and washed away the body. Immediately after this, the sun came out again. Later, his family was hit by misfortune. One of his sons resorted to begging and later died in a temple. Another washed utensils of the Gujjars and the third one died in a toilet.

Abdur Rashid Kanth

Abdur Rashid Kanth belonged to Jakhed village, 3 kms from Laati in tehsil Ramnagar of the present Udhampur district. He was 8 years old at the time of the massacre in 1947. Recalling the fate of the Muslims of his area, Kanth drew the following picture²⁸⁷:

It was the day of *Eid ul Fitr*²⁸⁸ and the maize crop had been harvested. Contractor Malik Abdullah of Laati moved along with his family to our village. It was about 4 p.m. when the houses of Kumhars at Laati were torched. Abdullah arrived in our village and asked people to run away for safety. The festivities of *Eid* were disrupted. We were seven brothers and four sisters and all of us fled towards Marmat to our maternal house. Many people followed us. Others came from Chenahni, Ramnagar and Sudh Mahadev. Some fled towards Doda. After a month, we left for Bhaderwah.

When we reached the top of the hill at Marmat we saw a *qatil jatha* carrying guns, swords, sickles etc. Compared with us, they were small in number. Our father had a gun and a spear with him. The *jatha* shouted at us asking not to run away and that they would guide us to Pakistan. There were many in the *jatha*- Dhanattar Singh, Sant Ram, Mahashay, Thakur and some Sikhs. Sant Ram said that the contractor (Malik Abdullah) was his friend and he will not kill him. Sant Ram belonged to Pattangarh village.

A group of about 155 Muslims lead by Amir-ud-Din, fell into the trap and went with the *jatha*. There were 36 of us who did not go with them and reached Panjgarayi village where we found another armed *jatha* waiting. We thought we will get killed now and since there were ladies in our batch we should kill them before the rioters dishonour them. My father told us to have faith in Allah and move ahead. A woman came forward. She had a small child with her. She spoke to my mother. Someone called names to her from behind. My father told them that we were not killers but fleeing from arson. They did not attack us. Two armed men followed us. We must have walked a distance of 2 kms when my father stopped and asked them what were they up to? They replied that their commander had taken pity on you and told them that since there was a bigger *jatha* awaiting them at the bridge they would get killed anyway. We turned towards a stream downwards. There were sheep and goats and some Hindu women who bad mouthed against Muslims.

We reached a flat ground at around 3 a.m. For next four days, we travelled in all the four directions one by one but reached the same spot where from we had started. We thought that we were destined to die here. During this time whatever had to happen in Bhaderwah had happened. My father distributed some money amongst us saying that since no one knows what was in store for us the money may come handy in the hour of need. Some money was stitched into my shirt. My mother prayed to God for safety and took out the jewellery she was wearing, making a promise to donate it at the shrine at Kishtwar if we found safe exit. That day, we finally managed to find the right track. At one place, we entered into a vacant house. The interiors gave an impression that the house must have been of some wealthy person. We took some flour from there and again set out on our journey. Next day, we reached Bhaderwah.

Later, it turned out that the batch of 155 Muslims accompanying Amir-ud-Din was lodged in a 2-storied Dak Bungalow at Guna village. The door was bolted from outside and the building set on fire. The poor people were all roasted alive except a lady, Fatima Bibi, who jumped out of the window but was killed by a bullet fired by one Jabu Brahmin.

In 1973-74, I met Sant Ram. He was suffering from cancer and was in a precarious condition. He told me that the ghost of Amir-ud-Din was haunting him and not letting him die a peaceful death. During his last days, nobody would go near him. So strong was the foul smell of urine and stool emanating from his person that even the servants in the household would not go near him. God had avenged his cruelty against innocent people.

JINNAH AND KASHMIR

MUHAMMAD Ali Jinnah was fond of visiting hill stations despite his overwhelming preoccupation with politics. One such place that the Founder of Pakistan was eager to visit, even after the Partition, is Kashmir. His bond with the Valley dates earlier to the creation, even conception, of Pakistan. Jinnah had established connect with Kashmir during 1920s. His two visits to Srinagar taking place in 1936, when he successfully fought an intricate case relating to a sensitive matter of the Muslim Personal Law, and 1944, when he was accorded rousing reception by the National Conference and the Muslim Conference, are well documented and entrenched in public memory in Kashmir. But these are not his only trips to Srinagar.

Jinnah's Private Secretary for several years, Khurshid Hassan Khurshid or K. H. Khurshid as he was popularly known, has written about the *Quaid Azam's* three visits to Kashmir but was not able to locate the month or the year of the first visit.

Likewise, Justice Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, author of the two-volume *Kashmir's Fight for Freedom*, too has alluded to a third visit, which is earlier to his well known two visits, in some detail but in the absence of any material, was forced to conclude that this could have taken place before the death of Jinnah's wife in 1929. He assumes that the year of the visit could be between 1925 and 1928.²⁸⁹ It was after, what he describes, going through his leader's personal papers and conducting "pains-taking research in Srinagar, Gulmarg and Pahalgam"²⁹⁰ that he could ascertain that Jinnah had visited Kashmir before his much known visits in 1936 and 1944 - albeit without identifying the exact month or year.

No detail, except travel into the Valley and a visit to Pahalgam²⁹¹, is available about Jinnah's possible first visit to Kashmir, despite him being an inescapable link to its modern history. His life has been thoroughly written about by biographers, scholars and contemporaries who had worked with him or had known him. But, strangely, not much light is thrown on his first visit to Kashmir, notwithstanding the fact that by mid-1920s, Jinnah was already a very prominent political figure of India. As back as in 1916, he had presided over the joint session of the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress at Lucknow. This was the time when he had emerged in India as the leader of reckoning. His movements were watched and widely reported. Incidentally, this was also the time when he shot to prominence by declining the Knighthood saying to Lord Reading, the outgoing Viceroy and Governor General, that he preferred to be plain Mr. Jinnah.²⁹²

Saraf's assumption that Jinnah, accompanied by his wife, Rattanbhai Petit or Ruttie as she was fondly known, visited Kashmir "perhaps between 1925 and 1929" is correct in relation to its broader time reference but it does not help the reader

to locate the exact year in which the famous couple arrived in Kashmir for the first time. Ruttie came from a very rich Parsi family of Bombay. She had fallen in love with Jinnah when she was only 17. Her father, Sir Dinshaw Petit, was against his daughter's affair with a man more than twice her age and professing a different faith but she was persistent. Dinshaw took out a court injunction, forbidding Jinnah to see her. He waited, and Ruttie remained devoted. When she was 18, the couple got married. Ruttie converted to Islam and the marriage was performed under Muslim rites.²⁹³ The news of their marriage was broken by *The Statemann* on 19 April 1918 thus:

Miss Ruttenbai, only daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit, yesterday underwent conversion to Islam, and is today to be married to the Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah.²⁹⁴

Ruttie, the 'Flower of Bombay'²⁹⁵, took Maryam Jinnah as her Muslim name. 'She was very beautiful, cultured, educated, dignified and a good orator.'²⁹⁶ Hector Bolitho portrays her as lively, witty and full of ideas and jokes.²⁹⁷ Kanji Dwarkadas, a close friend of the Jinnahs, describes Ruttie as "the gentlest, noblest and kindest of mankind"²⁹⁸ and "a great intellectualist, well informed, well read and balanced in her judgement of men and events."²⁹⁹ For Barrister Diwan Chaman Lal, Jinnah's companion on his voyage to Europe, "there is not a woman in the world today to hold a candle to her for beauty and charm."³⁰⁰ Ruttie lived a luxurious life and Jinnah gladly paid all her bills. His "fondness for her was quite a topic of conversation in Bombay."³⁰¹

Jinnah's first visit

In 1925, the Jinnahs had planned a visit to Kashmir but there is no evidence to suggest that they actually arrived in the Valley. Jinnah was preoccupied with the Bawla Murder³⁰² case

and Ruttie felt disappointed on the prospect of missing the chance of going to Kashmir. In her personal diary, she recorded her disappointment thus: "It doesn't look as if we were going to Kashmere after all, as J. is engaged in the Bawla case. So it is more likely that we shall remain in Bombay."³⁰³ She fondly addressed her husband as J. During his stay in Srinagar in 1936, Jinnah is said to have mentioned his earlier visit to Kashmir ten years ago. He had been to the Valley in 1926 and was accompanied by Ruttie. Given that Jinnah was in Srinagar in 1926, it is clear that he has visited Kashmir at least four times. Evidence, unknown till now, that the present author has accessed, establishes his presence in Srinagar also in the year 1927. But first, the 1926 visit.

We have it from Aziz Beg, biographer of Jinnah,³⁰⁴ that the *Quaid-e-Azam* and Ruttie were in Srinagar in 1926 where Maharaja Hari Singh met Jinnah and mentioned an incident involving Ruttie. It is an incident about her irritation with official procedure adopted by the then Kashmir Government regarding arrival of visitors in the Valley and her reaction to it. Beg writes:

When she was with Jinnah in the famed vale of Kashmir, she got fed up, as she had to fill a form in which a visitor was supposed to explain the purpose of visit. At one place, Ruttie wrote, 'The purpose of visit is to spread sedition.' In 1926, when Maharaja Hari Singh met Jinnah and mentioned this incident, Jinnah just laughed at the contents of the 'nasty letter' she wrote to the British resident in Kashmir.³⁰⁵

During their stay in the Valley that lasted for three months,³⁰⁶ the first thing Ruttie did was to refurnish the houseboat they were lodged in. She had 'aptitude for internal decoration' and a 'keen aesthetic sense'.³⁰⁷ Pestonjee, the Parsi businessman and host of Jinnahs in Kashmir, recalls:

During her first visit, the first thing she did was to refurnish the houseboat; she spent Rs. 50,000 in three months. Jinnah

cheerfully paid all the bills for his beautiful and dutiful wife. The fact is that Jinnah treated her wonderfully well, and paid without a murmur all the bills which were necessitated by the luxurious life she led.³⁰⁸

Jinnah, it is apparent, had visited Kashmir with Ruttie more than once. Pestonjee talks about his 'visits' to Kashmir with wife.³⁰⁹ Saraf's failure to place the year of Jinnah's 'first' visit aside, he has given some account of his departure for Kashmir from Rawalpindi where he had arrived from Bombay by the Frontier Mail at 3.45 p.m. Ruttie had preceded him by about two weeks. Saraf gives an account of Jinnah's arrival in Rawalpindi and selecting a car for onward travel to Kashmir. He writes:

The Quaid-e-Azam stayed overnight in the Flashman Hotel. Mr. Michael, an Anglo-Indian who was the Manager of the "British Army Motor Service" and the "Wireless Motor Company" Rawalpindi with Agha Ghulam Jilani and his uncle Mian Mohammad Shafi as proprietors, showed him the entire fleet of the Company's passenger cars but not one could find favour with the impeccable Barrister from Bombay. He then showed him, without the prior permission of the owner, the personal Buick of Agha Ghulam Jilani, recently purchased from a staff-member of the Viceroy. Mr. Jinnah approved it and this is how Agha Ghulam Jilani had the unique privilege, now proudly treasured in family chronicle, of driving Quaid-e-Azam from Rawalpindi to Srinagar. One Khan Mohammad Afghani was picked as a substitute driver.³¹⁰

The travel to Srinagar during which Jinnah was engrossed in a book was punctuated only by a stopover at Domel for luggage check at the Custom Post and at Gahri Dupatta for having lunch.³¹¹ On their arrival in Srinagar, the Jinnahs stayed with the Pestonjees. Next morning, they took another car to Pahalgam. The owner of the Buick that brought them to Kashmir had seen

them in Pahalgam a few days later when he himself went there for a few days stay. He had seen Ruttie wearing a light coloured sari and carrying a tin of 555 cigarettes.³¹² No reference or material has been forthcoming about the period of stay of the Jinnah couple in Kashmir or with whom the two met during their stay in the Valley. The visit was possibly a patch-up effort. A young Ruttie demanded that her husband spent more time with her while Jinnah was getting more and more preoccupied with politics which took its toll on his time. Despite being very fond of each other the couple was drifting³¹³ and ultimately separated few months before Ruttie died in 1929.³¹⁴ Later in life, he used to take out her belongings and look at them, not letting go of her memory.³¹⁵

A thus-far-unknown visit

That Jinnah visited Kashmir in 1927 also has come to light now. An official letter, thus far unknown, confirms that he arrived in Srinagar in the summer of 1927. A communication from the Maharaja's Minister-in-Waiting to the Minister for Police and Public Works, G. E. C. Wakfield, written on 18 May, 1927, shows that Jinnah was in Kashmir for six weeks. Sadly, it does not reveal who, if anyone accompanied him on this visit. The document brings to light that Maharaja Hari Singh, then at Jammu, was completely oblivious of Jinnah's arrival in Kashmir. Surprisingly, he had been kept in the dark by his Administration about the high profile visit. His indignation was profound as he had come to know about it only through a report published in a Lahore based newspaper. The report mentioned Jinnah having gone to Kashmir on one and a half month sojourn. The Minister's communication demanded of Wakfield to explain why, if the newspaper report was true, the Maharaja was not informed about the visit. The letter reads:

The Pratap of 11th May 1927 contains an article to the effect that Mr. Jinnah has gone to Kashmir for a period of six weeks. Will you kindly let me know, for the information of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur, if this is a fact, and if so, why this was not reported by the Police?³¹⁶

Jinnah at the High Court

The visit of 1927 was followed by Jinnah with two other visits in 1936 and 1944. By this time, Kashmir had woken up to a new political situation in the wake of 13 July 1931 blood spill and the subsequent uprising against the autocratic rule.³¹⁷ This time, Jinnah was accompanied by his sister, Ms. Fatima Jinnah who had stepped in to take care of her brother after Rutie's death. Jinnah left Lahore for Kashmir on 5 May 1936. He was seen at the Railway Station by Ahrar leaders and Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana, his host in Lahore.³¹⁸ At the Railway Station, he was introduced to Ahrar workers. Next day, he arrived in Srinagar where he first stayed in the Nedous Hotel and then shifted to a houseboat.³¹⁹ Reporting about his arrival in Kashmir, the Tribune wrote that Jinnah "will be treated as State guest"³²⁰ and "is expected to be back in June."³²¹ The newspaper suggested that having failed in organizing a purely Muslim party in the Punjab under the Muslim League Parliamentary Board for fighting provincial elections, Jinnah was in negotiations with the Ahrar Party to achieve his objective and since no headway was made in their talks which had not broken down, he left for Kashmir. The Srinagar based Kashmir Times, owned and edited by a Kashmiri Pandit, Gwasha Lal Koul, gave another twist to the visit. The newspaper quoted Ganpat Rai, Secretary Hindu Mahasabha, to suggest that Jinnah's visit to Kashmir was "not only to take rest there for a month or two but he has gone there on a special political mission... and during his stay at Srinagar he will try to ascertain how far Kashmir will help him in his mission"³²² to oppose the establishment of Federal

Government in India. Without quoting source, the newspaper claimed to have "reliably understood that the machinery which was responsible for agitation by his Muslim subjects against a Hindu Ruler [Kashmir] has promised help to Mr. Jinnah for fomenting another agitation against Federal Government."³²³ The newspaper further wrote: "It is said that this was the reason why before leaving for Kashmir he stayed at Lahore for a week and met the Ahrar leaders who also had taken keen interest in the last agitation [post-13 July 1931 carnage at Srinagar] in Kashmir and after knowing all the secrets from them Mr. Jinnah left for Kashmir."³²⁴ Interestingly, when Jinnah was asked what he had to say about this he rejected the statement as "absolutely without any foundation."³²⁵ His engagements in Kashmir too belied such an impression.

The visit became an instant hit with Jinnah's appearance in the Court of Chief Justice Barjor Dalal in connection with a case titled Hanifa Begum versus the State. Hanifa's first husband had died of police firing in September 1931. She then married to one Abdul Kabir and subsequently to a police official, Mirza Mehar Ali. Kabir filed a case against Ali after a lapse of three years which the defence fought on the plea that the lady's marriage to the petitioner was invalid as she had married him during her *idat*, a mandatory four months and ten days wait for a Muslim woman to remarry after divorce or death of her husband. The plea was rejected by the trial court. Hanifa Begum was convicted but Ali was acquitted for want of knowledge. Ali later told Saraf that Jinnah was not willing to appear in the case because he was on a holiday but he succeeded in persuading him to do so by invoking his participation in the agitation against the Dogra rule and association with the Muslim League.³²⁶

The appearance of Jinnah the Barrister at Law for the accused in a case that the Chief Justice had on facts described

as 'hopeless'³²⁷, generated tremendous public interest and excitement. The court premises were flooded with citizens including lawyers, government officials and common people. The public curiosity could be gauged by the fact that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who by now had emerged as the frontline leader of Kashmir, was himself one of the inquisitive onlookers to witness what surprise Barrister Jinnah would spring up.³²⁸ Jinnah had told Ali to give him the case-papers only a day in advance of the date fixed for arguments and when he arrived at the court he had no books with him which was quite unusual those days.³²⁹ Saraf narrates the dramatic court-room scene thus:

His address was brief and to the point. He sprang a real surprise by conceding, for purposes of argument, that the relevant date advanced by the prosecution was correct. There was pin-drop silence as if the hearts of onlookers who wanted him to win, came to a standstill. They exchanged bewildered looks but the next moment he said something that made everyone subconsciously ensure that his feet were really on the ground, as if the whole audience of statues had suddenly come to life. He argued that the period of four months and ten days can be counted in months, only when death occurs on the first of the lunar month but otherwise it had to be counted as 130 days. By the latter calculation, the marriage of the lady with the complainant was within Iddat and hence not a valid one.³³⁰

When the Chief Justice asked Jinnah if there was any Authority to support his argument that in the instant case it was 130 days to determine the period of *idat*, he responded, "My Lord, I am the Authority."³³¹ Mirza Mehar Ali and Hanifa Begum won the case. There is disagreement between Saraf and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah over the fee charged by Jinnah for pleading the case. While the former is categorical that Jinnah did not charge anything³³², the latter holds that he demanded

Rs. 1000 as his fee and refused to accept anything less.³³³ Saraf has Mehar Ali on his side who had narrated him the incident at Baramulla where the latter had built a house and settled.

During his stay in Kashmir in 1936, Jinnah appeared in the High Court "in at least two cases"³³⁴ but Saraf dwells only on the case of Hanifa Begum. The other was possibly the one involving the Pandits from the north Kashmir town of Sopore and their business partner. The Pandits carry it as a family legend that the *Quaid-e-Azam* fought their case during his stay in Kashmir. Abdul Aziz Pandit, a timber merchant and brother of the later day famous businessman, Abdus Samad Pandit, had a dispute with his partner, Shyam Lal. Mohammad Afzal Beg, later a close associate of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, had just returned from Aligarh Muslim University with a law degree. He had family relations with the Pandits who requested him to fight their case in the court. However, when the family came to know that Jinnah had arrived in Srinagar they asked Beg to persuade him to plead the case. Barrister Jinnah agreed but demanded Rs. 5000 as fee. On the client's readiness to pay the amount, Jinnah curiously asked him why he was ready to pay Rs. 5000 in a suit involving a lesser amount. Aziz replied that it was a matter of prestige for him upon which he said that he would charge only Rs. 2000. Drawing from the family legend, Abdur Rashid Pandit recalls:

On the day of hearing, Mr. Jinnah arrived at the court in a car. He was clad in a white suit, wore a hat and was smoking a cigar. When the lawyer of the opposite side completed his argument, the Bench asked Jinnah to present his case. He began with the statement that it was a case between Abdul Aziz Pandit and Shyam Lal. The court said, "Yes it is". Jinnah repeated the words and the court again concurred. He repeated the words third time and the Bench retorted, "Yes it is and now proceed". Jinnah asked, "Do the Lordships agree that the matter is between Abdul Aziz

Pandit and Shyam Lal?" The Bench replied in affirmative upon which Jinnah said, "In that event, the case is over". Everybody was surprised. He pointed out that Shyam Lal had executed the partnership deed in the name of his son who was a minor and the deed cannot stand in the eyes of law. Within minutes he turned the tables on the opposite side. Mirwaiz Molvi Muhammad Yusuf Shah had also come to the court to see Jinnah arguing the case.³³⁵

Muhammad Yusuf Chapri, son of Abdul Gaffar Chapri, a leading houseboat owner and supporter of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Muslim League, recounts that his father actually persuaded Jinnah to fight the case of the Pandits.³³⁶ He told this author that as a child he had accompanied his father to Sopore where they visited Abdus Samad Pandit who was senior Chapri's close friend. He recalls:

As I was being helped to wash my hands and join Mr. Pandit over lunch, he asked me if I knew my father very well. I was surprised by this sudden query and replied that I know him as much as a son would know his father. Upon this, he said that your father is a well known person from Rawalpindi to Srinagar and he is the one who persuaded Jinnah Sahab to fight our case for which the latter did not accept any fee. When your father offered him the money that I had handed over to him to be given to Mr. Jinnah, he [Jinnah] declined to accept and suggested him to donate the money to Hazratbal shrine.³³⁷

In Srinagar, Jinnah attended two reception functions held in his honour at the Islamia High School and the Imamia High School, Zadibal.³³⁸ He donated Rs. 500 to the Islamia High School.³³⁹ The Imamia High School reception was hosted by the Shia community whose leaders were divided on the issue of separate representation to the community in the government. Besides, in the matter of custody of the Imambara Zadibal,

the All Kashmir Shia Association and the Anjuman-i-Imamia were locked in a court case. Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, President Anjuman-i-Imamia and a Muslim Conference supporter, invited Jinnah to his home situated close to the Imambara. Molvi Mohammad Jawad Ansari, President All Kashmir Shia Association, did not take Jalali's invite to Jinnah kindly. Ansari met Chief Justice Barjor Dalal and also sought appointment with the Prime Minister against Jalali whom he accused of being "in animosity with brother community" and trying to regain his "lost influence" by inviting ministers and government officials to meet Jinnah. In a letter dated 1 June 1936, Ansari seeking an "immediate interview" with the Prime Minister wrote to him:

I am fully alive of the fact that your time is precious and you grant an interview after fixing date and time except in emergency cases. I regret I am interfering in your precious time by requesting you to grant me an immediate interview owing to the reasons stated in the enclosed memorandum. On this account I had an opportunity to presenting myself to Sir Barjor Dalal I.C.S. yesterday and I exchanged views with him on this subject and I want to reveal the name and some more important facts verbally.

Would you be kind enough to grant me an interview for few minutes to enable me to express myself on this important matter concerning the whole Shia community?³⁴⁰

The memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister was signed by Syed Rasool Shah Jalali, Secretary All Kashmir Shia Association, which reads:

Mr. Jinnah is admittedly a nationalist and is always keen for uniting brother communities who are ledger drawn, and we would therefore very much like him amongst us in all social functions. But unfortunately Syed Hussain Shah Jalali who is in animosity with his brother community and is not liked by a single Shia has invited him to his home quite

close to Imambara wherefrom Syed Hussain Shah has been dispossessed and on that account the cases are pending in the subordinate courts. He has just to insert himself and to regain his lost influence played a dodge and invited all ministers of the government and government officers to meet Mr. Jinnah and to influence officers in future and the public by showing that the officers high and low have visited his place.

We would have been simply overjoyed if Mr. Jinnah would have been amongst us in a social function and on an invitation by a neutral person. We had an idea of inviting him to Imambara on a tea party with all ministers and government officers as Mr. Jinnah belongs to our community, but we refrained from doing so on the above mentioned reasons.

It is known to all that Syed Hussain Shah Jalali has all along and is still an agitator belonging to S. M. Abdullah's party and has gone to the assembly on the ticket of non-Shias. As we apprehend grave consequences we therefore submit this memorial for your honour's kind information. We are not at all jealous of the position of Syed Hussain Shah Jalali if he would gain such by honest means."³⁴¹

The All Kashmir Shia Association was in touch with the Dogra Administration and wanted separate representation in the government for the Shia community.³⁴² At the tea party hosted by Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, when Jinnah was asked to share his views about the demand for separate representation for Shia Muslims, he dismissed it as hilarious.³⁴³

A deputation of Kashmiri Pandits comprising Shiv Narain Fotedar and Prem Nath Kana met Jinnah and sought his views on the problem of minorities. He told them that his views on minorities were the same as already placed by him before the majority in British India. About the criterion for Government

services he said merit was the only criterion to be followed.³⁴⁴ He also addressed a public meeting at Pathar Masjid³⁴⁵ in the old city on the occasion of the Muslim festival of *Milad-un-Nabi*³⁴⁶ organised by the Muslim Conference. Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas as President, Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference read the welcome address.

Beloved leader of the Mussalmans: We the Muslims of the Valley of Kashmir feel proud and happy today that you, the champion of the entire of our community and the torch bearer of freedom movement of the Motherland, should have spared a few days during this period of your busiest engagements to fulfill our long cherished desire of meeting you. We shall surely treasure this day as one of the happiest days in our history when we had the great fortune of meeting a sincere well wisher of ours who has time and again shown practically by generous acts of self sacrifice how a firm follower of the Faith should spend his life according to the tenets of Islam.

Standard Bearer of the Freedom Movement: Political barriers of imaginary character may separate us from you at present but as the destinies of all Indians, whether they live in yellow or red India, are linked together, we have always keenly followed your movement inside and outside the legislature, in India and abroad. We have always watched how while safeguarding the interests of the community you have never succumbed or given way before the activities of the reactionaries. We believe when the history of our struggle for emancipation comes to be written we Indian Mussalmans can raise our head high because of the sons of Islam like yourself. The manifold sacrifices you made and boldness you manifested to uphold your convictions have deeply impressed us and guided us in our path. Times have again approached when the ability of every Mussalman politician and public worker in India will be put to test when by a small impolitic move the best interests

of the community can be harmed. It is a great consolation to us that your ingenuity and strength of character have again come to the succour of the poor and much exploited helpless Mussalmans of India.

Inspirer of the youth: The young men of the Muslim community shall always remain beholden to you for having inspired them with ideas of true nationalism side by side with the desire to uplift the poor Mussalmans from their present economic and social degradation. The awakening among our young men is mostly due to your ceaseless efforts.

Benefactor of Islam in India: How can we reckon the services that you have rendered to the Mussalmans in this all too brief an address? But if we cannot enumerate them, believe me, we feel them. Your noble character, sober nature, love of Islam, passion for Freedom, anxiety for Hindu Muslim unity are things we cannot easily forget, though we many not find time, way and words to express them. Our only prayer is God may out of his mercy for us spare you this earthly existence for many years to come and grant you success in your efforts for the good of Islam and India.³⁴⁷

In his speech, Jinnah spoke about the Muslim law and culture and congratulated the Kashmiri Muslims for their unity and political awakening, besides advising them to strive for the cooperation of the minorities.³⁴⁸ He likened the Muslim Conference in Jammu & Kashmir with the Congress in India and asked the former to take the minorities along.³⁴⁹ He was very emphatic about it and told the gathering:

... But one thing which I feel necessary to tell you and your leaders is that the minorities, that is, the Hindus of the State, should always be given an assurance that equality and justice shall be secured to them in the State. It is the duty of the majority to give this assurance to minorities...

So long as this principle is not owned there is no hope of any freedom. I will also say this that without winning the confidence of minorities and without assuring them of the equal treatment with majority, the obstacles in your political path will not be removed.³⁵⁰

The last visit

Jinnah's last visit to Kashmir took place in May 1944 at a time when Kashmir had risen against the Dogra atrocities and India was fighting for freedom from the British. The Muslims of the subcontinent under the *Quaid-e-Azam's* leadership were also inching towards having a separate country for themselves. The political scenario in Kashmir had witnessed a development of far-reaching consequence five years ago with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah converting the Muslim Conference into the National Conference. The development was destined to cast a dark shadow on the future status of Jammu and Kashmir and its people. The conversion was influenced by the Indian National Congress leader and future Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru who had mesmerised Abdullah by his sweet talk which ultimately ended in his landing into the former's lap. Contrary to the perception that the conversion of the Muslim Conference was a smooth affair, there was lot of resistance against it. Apart from Abdullah's colleagues including Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad and G. M. Sadiq who also initially opposed the move, and almost the entire Muslim leadership of Jammu opposing it, his wife, Begum Akbar Jahan too offered a stiff disagreement on the conversion and at one time left her husband's home to live with her parents.³⁵¹ Abdullah's gamble to convert the party into a secular organisation by hoping that the minorities of Kashmir would throng to its fold did not pay off as those Kashmiri Pandit leaders who had initially joined

the National Conference soon deserted it on one or the other pretext, leaving him bitter and disillusioned.

Between his last visit to Kashmir and now, Jinnah had parted ways with the Indian National Congress and had emerged as the undisputed leader of the Indian Muslims. He did not approve of Abdullah's leaning towards the Indian National Congress which he considered now as a Hindu-ridden organization and enemy of Muslim interests.³⁵² On 1 April 1939, about two months before the conversion of the Muslim Conference into the National Conference, he made a speech to the Kashmiri students of the Aligarh Muslim University after they presented an address to him. He told them:

I can say with certainty that he [Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah] is in the wrong. Having got himself ensnared by the Congress, which is thoroughly a Hindu organization, he has put the ship of his community in a whirlpool. I understand that he is doing this out of ignorance and some misunderstanding. But I am fully satisfied that he will soon realize his mistake and will return to the right path, and will come to know that those whom he is considering his friends and at whose beck and call he is acting, are not his true friends but his enemies. It is not Sheikh Abdullah alone who has become a target of this mistake but there are several others like him who have been so deceived and perhaps I too am one of those persons who had become once the victim of the same deception.³⁵³

Jinnah believed that Abdullah was misled and had fallen into the hands of his foes. He, however, hoped that the Kashmiri leader would realize this and asked the Kashmiri students to ask 'your leader' to spare the Muslim League and confine himself to the betterment of his people. He said:

I have been to Kashmir and have seen the miserable lot of the Muslims. Some Muslim leaders specially Mr. Abdullah

have been misled; they have fallen not into the hands of their friends but their foes just as many of our brethren in British India have fallen into the trap. Our first task is to rescue Muslims from falling into the clutches of their opponents. When you go to Kashmir ask your leader to spare the Muslim League and confine himself to the betterment of his own people. Many people, who used to say that the Muslim League was in the wrong, today admit that it is right. I hope Mr. Abdullah for whom I have great respect, will also realize that we are right. We will help the Kashmiris but you must make the League stronger and avoid falling into the hands of our enemies. I am fully alive to the problem of Kashmir. I am sure with the co-operation of the Muslim League and the Muslims of Kashmir we shall yet rescue Kashmir.³⁵⁴

Decades later, Abdullah confessed that the Pandit leaders had joined the National Conference "only to mould its politics according to their wishes. They would make a big fuss over starting a public meeting with the recitation of verses from the Holy Quran or raising the slogan of *Allah-o-Akbar* (God is Great)."³⁵⁵ In 1944, the Kashmiri leadership of the National Conference reached an agreement to reverse the conversion and, through a circular, asked the members of the working committee to give their opinion.³⁵⁶ The reconversion did not take place. However, leaders like Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas, Allah Rakha Sagar, Gauhar Rehman, Muhammad Yusuf Qureshi and Syed Hassan Shah Jalali had already in 1940 revived the Muslim Conference. So, when Jinnah arrived in Kashmir, Muslims of the State, unlike during his previous visit in 1936, were politically a divided lot.

The politics of the subcontinent had been divided on religious lines and Muhammad Ali Jinnah had become the rallying force for the demand of a separate State for Muslims to

be carved out of the Muslim dominated areas of British India. It was naïve on the part of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to expect Jinnah support his decision to convert the Muslim Conference into the Nehru-inspired National Conference and ask the people of Kashmir to remain on his side against the parent party that went with the idea of Pakistan. Yet Abdullah went to Delhi with an invite to Jinnah for a visit to Kashmir in 1944 in the hope that he would throw his weight with the National Conference. The Muslim Conference under Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas had earlier extended invitation to Jinnah to visit Srinagar for garnering his support against the National Conference.

The Government in Kashmir was not certain about the high profile visit till as late as 10 April 1944. That day, the District Magistrate Kashmir informed the Deputy Chief Secretary, Political Department, about Jinnah's 'probable visit' referring to a confidential daily diary which spoke about the latter as contemplating to visit Kashmir shortly and the National Conference planning to take out a river procession to welcome him.³⁵⁷ Among his would be engagements, it also talked about Jinnah laying the foundation of *Dar-ul-Aloom* at Hazratbal³⁵⁸ and the Muslim Conference led by *Mirwais*, Molvi Muhammad Yusuf Shah, having him lay the foundation of some institution. The District Magistrate shot two more letters to the Deputy Chief Secretary along with extracts from confidential daily diary of Srinagar city intimating him that although the visit of Mr. Jinnah was still not certain, he would not allow land or river procession if permission was asked from him.³⁵⁹ On 7 April, the *Mirwais* had made a speech at the Friday prayers during which he lambasted some Muslims (read National Conference supporters) for joining hands with the Government and spending "a good deal of money to create dissensions among Muslims"³⁶⁰ leading them to abject misery. He hailed Jinnah for his regard for the people of Kashmir and said a grand reception

would be accorded to him on his arrival. He asked people to be ready for the reception.

The programme of Jinnah's visit to Kashmir underwent some change. The Muslim Conference received a letter from Mian Bashir Ahmad of Lahore informing the party that Jinnah was arriving in Srinagar on 28 April.³⁶¹ However, as is known, the Muslim League chief reached Srinagar on 10 May. In the meanwhile, the Muslim Conference workers had started preparing for an impressive reception. Given the group feuds between the workers of the National Conference and the Muslim Conference that plagued Srinagar in the preceding year in which the life and property of the latter was attacked at several places, the Government was jittery about allowing processions by the rival parties. The Muslim Conference actually made a written request on 29 April for permission to arrange reception and procession for the visiting dignitary. The party held a meeting on 27 April at Syed Ali Akbar in the old city where it was 'resolved' to arrange reception and distribute uniforms among their volunteers.³⁶² The District Magistrate advised the Prime Minister against allowing use of uniforms and parading and movement in formation. The party planned to welcome Jinnah and bring out a 'grand procession' from Jama Masjid to Batwara via Khanyar to accompany, what the application made to the District Magistrate on 8 May described, the "Great Leader of the Indian Muslims" and "Pride of the Nation" to Dalgate. Warm feelings were expressed for the visiting guest during the short speeches made on the occasion. The people were reminded that 10 May was a day of test for them to demonstrate their feelings for Jinnah whom one of the speakers, Abdul Salam Dalal, likened to their 'Emperor'.³⁶³

A note from the Senior Superintendent of Police, Kashmir sent to the Inspector General of Police and the District

Magistrate a day earlier to Jinnah's arrival in Srinagar spoke about the special police arrangements made to meet the situation including detailing on duty plainclothes men at the two sites of public meetings Jinnah was supposed to address. The City Magistrates, the City Munsif, the First Additional Munsif and the Second Additional Munsif were detailed on Magistrate duty at the two venues and Police Station Kothibagh to maintain law and order.³⁶⁴ Interestingly, both the National Conference and the Muslim Conference were not aware of the actual time and date of Jinnah's arrival in Srinagar even 48 hours prior to his coming. The applications for permission to take out processions for the reception of the visiting dignitary, separately made by the two parties on 8 May informed the District Magistrate of his arrival on 9 May at about 6 p.m. The National Conference intimated the district administration about the route of the procession as starting from Sonawar and passing through the Residency Road, Amira Kadal, Hospital Road, Maharaj Bazar and Hari Singh High Street to culminate at the Gole Bagh, where now the State Legislature and the High Court complexes stand.

On 9 May the National Conference and the Muslim Conference reached an agreement according to which the National Conference agreed to hold a reception at the Pratap Park where Jinnah would be conducted from Pampore. The party agreed not to take out any procession. The Muslim Conference agreed to conduct the guest from the Pratap Park to the Golf Course Bridge where party workers would receive him and take him in a procession to the Gagribal Point. The procession was agreed to be dispersed by the sunset. The agreement was signed by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad (who signed as Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi) and Mohammad Amin on behalf of the National Conference and the Muslim Conference, respectively. The permission for the procession from the Golf Course Bridge

to the Gagribal Point was accorded by the District Magistrate the next day.³⁶⁵

In Jammu, on way to Kashmir

During this visit too, Jinnah was accompanied by Fatima Jinnah. Before driving into the territory of Jammu & Kashmir, he made a brief stopover at Gujranwala on 8 May where a small public meeting was also held and he was garlanded with currency notes which he donated to the local unit of the Muslim League.³⁶⁶ He entered the State territory from Suchetgarh on the same day.³⁶⁷ A joint reception was accorded to him by the Muslim Conference and the National Conference leaders including Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas, Allah Rakha Sagar and Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. Abbas recalls the warm reception Jinnah was accorded at Jammu:

He was first received at the Suchetgarh border. On the 18-mile long road from Suchetgarh to Jammu, there were continuous lines of his admirers eagerly waiting for him. In the city of Jammu, Muslim men and women - old and young, rich and poor, villagers and city dwellers - all were animatedly looking for the arrival of the Quaid-e-Azam, their beloved leader. The route of the procession was decorated so elegantly that even the Hindus admitted that such beautification and a sea of people were not witnessed even at the coronation of Hari Singh and his ancestors.³⁶⁸

Jinnah was taken in a procession to Jammu city in an open car where he addressed a public meeting in the evening during which he attributed the rising of the people of Jammu & Kashmir against the autocratic rule to the injustices meted out to them. He told the gathering that the 100 million Muslims of India would not leave their brethren in Jammu & Kashmir in lurch. The reception accorded to him at Jammu was unprecedented. At one point, when his car was unable to negotiate a sharp turn

it was physically lifted by the crowd so that it could make the turn.³⁶⁹ At Jammu, Jinnah stayed in the Dak Bungalow on the Residency Road where he met political leaders, especially the youth. Here, he developed a kind of addiction to the *hookah* of a Muslim Conference leader, Abdullah Bhalli, and almost forgot his favourite cigar.³⁷⁰

Drive to Kashmir

Next day, Jinnah along with Abbas set out on his journey to Kashmir and had a night halt at Banihal.³⁷¹ As per the programme, he had to reach Srinagar the same day but "given the huge number of people who had descended on the Srinagar-Jammu road after trekking forty to fifty *kos* mountainous trudge to have a glimpse of the *Quaid-e-Azam*"³⁷², the schedule was changed with night halt at Banihal. On 10 May he left for Srinagar at 2 p.m. *Mirwaiz* Molvi Mohammad Yusuf Shah drove to Banihal to receive the guest.³⁷³ The road journey of 107 kilometers [66.48 miles] from Banihal to Srinagar was covered in five hours.³⁷⁴ En-route, there was hardly any spot where people had not gathered in large numbers to greet Jinnah. At Qazigund, thousands of National Conference and Muslim Conference workers accorded warm reception to him and his sister who responded the people's affection and love with broad smiles.³⁷⁵ There were skirmishes and exchange of fist blows between the workers of the National Conference and the Muslim Conference at Qazigund, Khanabal and Bijbihara. The police report squarely blamed the National Conference for abusing the Muslim Conference workers, when the latter arrived at Qazigund, resulting in fist blows. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad and Mohammad Amin kept the warring workers of their parties at bay. At Qazigund, people in large numbers jostled one another to have a glimpse of the leader. His car could move forward with great difficulty. An interesting development occurred there when two tyres of the *Mirwaiz's*

vehicle, bearing the registration number 2675 J&K, flattened and he had to board the car of his political rival, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, in which the former's colleague, Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas was also accommodated.³⁷⁶ The back windshield of the *Mirwaiz's* car was broken but the police could not say how and by whom. The car was reportedly attacked by National Conference workers.

The National Conference-Muslim Conference feuds had their origin in the dissolution of the Muslim Conference in 1939 and formation of the National Conference. Following the revival of the Muslim Conference in 1940, there erupted bloody inter-party feuds - termed as *Sher-Bakra* feuds for the nicknames given to the followers of the two ideologically divergent parties. While the National Conference was seen as pro-India, the Muslim Conference supported the idea of Pakistan as a separate country for the Muslims of India and Kashmir becoming its part. During those tumultuous years, the Kashmir Administration was flooded by telegrams and written complaints of the Muslim Conference leaders and workers, especially from different parts of Srinagar city, alleging physical attack and ransacking of their offices and residential houses by the National Conference cadre.

At Khanabal, an enthusiastic crowd of about 10,000 people greeted Jinnah.³⁷⁷ There was a stampede and many people were run over by a fervent throng. The Muslim Conference had arranged tea for the visiting dignitary at the Khanabal Dak Bungalow and disallowed workers of the National Conference to enter the premises. At this point, the National Conference leader, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, scaled the gate of the Dak Bungalow and jumped inside. He opened the gate and let his workers in, which resulted in a scuffle with the host party.³⁷⁸ The flags of the Muslim Conference were snatched and torn. At Bijbihara, similar clashes took place between the supporters

of the two parties *albeit* after Jinnah had left the spot. The two parties had agreed to an arrangement of positioning their supporters on the two sides of the road. However, as Jinnah drove past, the two groups started abusing and assaulting each other.³⁷⁹ One Muhammad Ismail, teacher of Islamia High School, Anantnag, approached the Assistant Superintendent of Police and the Sub-Divisional Magistrate on spot and identified Amir Sheikh, Assadullah Beg, Rasul Bandi, Hassan Malla, and Habib Nagara as the culprits who assaulted him, tore his clothes and removed from his pocket his wallet containing Rs. 45. An FIR was lodged under No. 10 U/S 147/379 RPC against the accused.

Some Muslim Conference workers used a novel method to keep the attacking National Conference activists away. Muhammad Yusuf Khan, a diehard Muslim Conference activist, had among his men a worker who carried an axe to scare the rival group away, not by attacking them but by hitting himself with it. At one point, when there was an altercation between the two groups he hit his forehead with the axe and a fountain of blood gushed out.³⁸⁰ The ghastly scene frightened the National Conference workers. Khan also received a head injury and had it bandaged. Jinnah had noticed his bandaged head and two years later when Khan was in Bombay and went to call on him he at once inquired about the injury.³⁸¹

Reception at Srinagar

On the outskirts of Srinagar city, Jinnah was received by the top leadership of the National Conference including Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq and Mohammad Syed Masoodi.³⁸²

Scenes of emotional welcome were also witnessed at Awantipore, Letapore, Pampore, Athwajan, Batwara and Sonawar. At Pampore, a private band presented ceremonial

salute to Jinnah who made a brief speech thanking people for the grand reception accorded to him.³⁸³ Welcome arches and buntings erected at Sonawar were tastefully decorated. Here, the band of Gilania Middle School Sonawar played a welcome song. From Sonawar to the Pratap Park, thousands of people, including foreign tourists, were lined in rows to welcome Jinnah who waved at them. About a dozen cars drove as pilot vehicles ahead of his motor car. A grand public reception was accorded to him at the Pratap Park where the gathering was estimated to be about one lakh.³⁸⁴ Jinnah entered the Pratap Park from its western gate. After the conclusion of the public meeting, he told Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas that the volume of the gathering could be 70,000 to 80,000.³⁸⁵ Impressed by people's warmth, Jinnah described the reception as a 'royal welcome'.³⁸⁶ He was also taken to Drugjan where the Muslim Conference presented a welcome address. Both at the Pratap Park and Drugjan, Jinnah made speeches.

The Pratap Park reception was an effort by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to impress Jinnah about his own influence on Kashmiris and win him over to his side as against the Muslim Conference but the latter refused to play the ball. It was naive on the part of Abdullah to expect Jinnah support his point of view when he himself admits that he had been speaking against the politics of the Muslim League and exposing the arguments of Pakistan's usefulness for the Muslims.³⁸⁷ The public meeting began with the recitation of Allama Iqbal's nationalistic song, '*Saaray jahan se achha Hindustan hamara*' (Better than all the world is our India) sung by Comrade Pran Nath Jalali.³⁸⁸ On behalf of the National Conference, Jialal Kilam welcomed the guest. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah led Jinnah to the stage. As he proceeded, he was garlanded and cheered by leaders and prominent workers of the National Conference. Abdullah introduced him to them

and spoke of people's love and regard for Jinnah which, he said, was amply demonstrated by the public meeting. Hinting to his opposition to Jinnah's political ideology, he said that he would not like to raise debatable issues here. However, he took pains in making the point that the grand reception for the visiting guest was arranged by his National Conference.³⁸⁹

In his speech, Jinnah thanked the people of Kashmir for according him a majestic welcome and said that he would never forget their love and warmth for him. He laid stress on communal amity and prayed for their welfare. He sought to puncture the balloon of Abdullah's ego by first saying that the honour shown to him by the people of Kashmir was because of his being the President of the All India Muslim League, and then by asking the Muslims of Kashmir to close their ranks reminding them that "We have one God, One Prophet, one Quran and one *Ka'ba*. Let us have one organisation, one platform, one flag and one leader".³⁹⁰ Kilam could not digest this and in a huff left the venue midway.

The Pratap Park reception did not have the desired effect for Abdullah. Added to his discomfiture was the advice that Jinnah gave to him. He asked him to lead the Muslim Conference instead of the National Conference, arguing that he had started his movement for the protection of rights of the Muslims and his support base also comprised only Muslims.³⁹¹ He assured him that he would ask Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas to return to his legal profession and the *Mirwaiz* to religious preaching, and urge them to leave politics.³⁹² Recalling his personal experiences with the Congress, Jinnah told Abdullah that he had quit that party after seeing double face of its leaders. The Congress, he cautioned him, will deceive you after its interests are met and you will repent one day.³⁹³ The speech and advice of Jinnah were not to make any impact on Abdullah other than making him bitter.

For the first fortnight, the relationship between the two remained cordial after the Pratap Park public meeting turned sour.³⁹⁴

During his presence in Kashmir this time, Jinnah first stayed in *Kushik*, a bungalow at Ishbar, Nishat.³⁹⁵ On 1 July, he shifted to the State Guest House No. 4 where he moved in at the invitation of the Prime Minister, B. N. Rau. However, he curtailed his stay there as no minister paid a courtesy call on him as his hosts seemed afraid to see him. Maharaja Hari Singh was in Europe as Member of the Imperial War Council but when he returned on 23 July, six days before Jinnah was scheduled to leave, he politely turned down his request for a meeting on the pretext that he had other commitments and his time was fully taken for the next few days.³⁹⁶ The Jinnah siblings then shifted to a houseboat, *Queen Elizabeth*, on the Jhelum at Lal Mandi.³⁹⁷ Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah claims that Jinnah took shelter in the houseboat as a state guest after a public reaction against him that the former generated by responding to his Pratap Park speech and "exposing his arguments on Pakistan's usefulness for the Muslims."³⁹⁸ That, however, is a travesty of truth. Jinnah had shifted from the Nishat house to the State Guest House on the invitation of the Prime Minister but immediately moved out of it when he felt due courtesy was not extended to him. At the Guest House, he told Khurshid that, although he was a guest of the State, his hosts seemed afraid to see him. Rau had only once called on him and that was on the first day. Khurshid recalls: "Later, Rau invited him to dinner at his residence and once the formality of the meal was over, Mr. Jinnah noticed Rau looking ill at ease. 'Why are they afraid?' he asked me."³⁹⁹ Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas, who accompanied Jinnah from Jammu and met him every second or third day at Srinagar and accompanied him on his return journey, recounts the incident thus:

When the *Quaid-e-Azam* arrived in the State, Maharaja Hari Singh was in London and returned a week before the former's departure from Srinagar. As courtesy, he wrote a letter to the Maharaja and expressed the desire to meet him. Before that, on the arrival of *Quaid-e-Azam*, Sir B. N. Rau had sent him a telegram at Jammu requesting him to accept the hospitality of the State. The *Quaid-e-Azam* asked my opinion and I suggested to him that he should accept the invite for two weeks sometime in the middle of his stay in Srinagar as it would not be politically prudent to do so on arrival. So, the *Quaid-e-Azam* sent a telegram to this effect to the Prime Minister. After one month of stay [at Srinagar], he was a State Guest for a fortnight but due to discourtesy of the State officials none of whom as host called on him, so much so that, due to cowardice which perhaps is an extension of nobility, Rau, although his admirer, too did not visit him once at the Government Guest House. Possibly for this reason, the *Quaid-e-Azam* shifted to a houseboat before the expiry of the period of hospitality.⁴⁰⁰

In Srinagar, Jinnah attended a reception hosted in his honour by the Aligarh Old Boys' Association. He met several deputations of political workers, students, religious leaders, journalists and representatives of the minorities. His engagements in the city included a speech, on 17 June, at the historic Jama Masjid. The function was held to observe the Annual Day of the Muslim Conference and the venue was jam-packed with people. Some suggest the number as one lakh.⁴⁰¹ He was warmly greeted by people and his address began at 10 p.m. only after it took a while for the organizers to quieten the cheering crowd. Saraf claims that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, with his two close aides, watched the proceedings from a nearby house of one of his party supporters. In his speech, Jinnah thanked people for "the honour accorded to me"⁴⁰² and felt confident that Kashmiris

had now awakened under the banner of the Muslim Conference. He said that during his stay in Srinagar he met all sections of the people and from them came to know about their problems and hardship. On the basis of what transpired between him and the people who called on him, he observed that 99% Kashmiris supported the Muslim Conference while there were some who felt that they should join the National Conference. He said that he had not come to Kashmir to support or oppose one against the other group. "It is my duty as a Muslim to advise you correctly as to which course would be proper and ensure your success"⁴⁰³, he told the gathering. He said that if the doors of the National Conference were kept open for six years for the non-Muslims and yet they have, as a whole, kept aloof from the party it would be a mistake to keep these doors open again. This, he warned, would divide the Muslims in two camps of the Muslim Conference and the National Conference and bring about tension between them. In what could be seen as a case of doublespeak by the leaders of the National Conference, he made a sensational statement when he said:

I did my best to make them understand the logic of the argument but I was told that we want to tell the world that there was no communalism in the State and behind the curtain of nationalism we will pursue the programme of the Muslim Conference and that they were supporters of Pakistan.⁴⁰⁴

Drawing a parallel with the Indian National Congress that, he alleged, practiced similar deceptive politics in British India, Jinnah cautioned the National Conference against following a similar course. He reminded the leadership of the party that Hindus and Sikhs, unlike the Muslim majority of the State, do not demand Responsible Government from the Maharaja. He said it would be a matter of happiness for him if they wanted such a Government. He emphasised that the Responsible

Government was not a cake that the Maharaja would present to them and that its attainment required organising "your nation" and improvement in "the educational, economic and social conditions of the Muslims."⁴⁰⁵ There was only one way to do this, he said "and that is unity, solidarity, a single flag, a single platform and an ideal. If you are able to achieve them, you must succeed."⁴⁰⁶

The *Quaid-e-Azam* also enjoyed Kashmiri *wazwan* at the Mirwaiz Manzil and, being unaccustomed to eating on the floor, stained his *shalwar* with a few drops of gravy. He was also presented Kashmiri dress comprising a shawl, *pheran*, turban and *zari* shoe and is said to have worn the shawl and asked the guests, "Do I look like a Kashmiri?"⁴⁰⁷ K. H. Khurshid, who was present on the occasion, however, writes that on straightening himself in the new outfit which the *Mirwaiz* put on him, Jinnah said, "I look like a Kashmiri."⁴⁰⁸ On 28 May, Jinnah attended a garden party at the Amar Singh Club, Sonawar, arranged by a famous Kashmiri jeweler, Khawaja G. Ahmad Joo. Earlier, he had called on Jinnah at *Kushik* and soon after their meeting it was known that Joo was throwing a grand party in Jinnah's honour.⁴⁰⁹ Khurshid recalls the event thus:

It was a beautiful evening and the green lawns of the club and the fresh open air added to its pleasantness. Mr. Jinnah rose as the sun was setting and decided to go around the different tables to shake hands with the guests. It so happened that he came first to the table where I was sitting and after shaking hands and greeting the others, he asked me to accompany him on his walkabout. Since I knew most of the people present, I was able to introduce them to Mr. Jinnah. His personality was so awe-inspiring that when he approached a table, everyone stood up, unable to say much, if anything.

Actually, the Muslims were just happy to have had an opportunity to shake hands with Mr. Jinnah and say 'Assalam-Alaikum' to him. I noticed that Chopra, the State's Hindu Wazir-e-Wazarat of chief judicial officer, avoided Mr. Jinnah by leaving the table Mr. Jinnah was about to come up to. He also left the next one, repeating the performance at least a couple of times before finding a table where Mr. Jinnah had already greeted the guests.

As we came to the table occupied by the leaders of the Kashmiri Pandit community, they all stood up and I said to Mr. Jinnah, 'This is the Yuvak Sabha *en bloc*', as that was the name of their party. Shiv Narain Fotedar, the President of the Yuvak Sabha said, "I am the leader of the minority community here but I am the Jinnah of Kashmir." Obviously, the line was well prepared but Mr. Jinnah's quite reply was, "I wish you the best of luck."⁴¹⁰

The Kashmir Government had kept a close watch on people meeting Jinnah. The visitors included government officials against whom C. I. D diary was sent to the Administration. Among such persons were Aga Muzaffar, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr. Agha, Registrar Cooperatives Department and M. A. Sheikh of Accounts Department. Begum Zafar Ali, Head Mistress, Government Girls High School who later rose to become a prominent social activist of Kashmir, was also reported against for meeting with Fatima Jinnah on 15 June.

During Jinnah's stay in Kashmir, K. H. Khurshid⁴¹¹, then a 20 year old college student from Abiguzar in uptown Srinagar, caught his eye and he picked him as his Private Secretary. Khurshid was then also working as a stringer for the Orient Press, the only Muslim news agency in India, and was keeping Jinnah posted with news besides getting his reaction or views on political developments to file a story. Jinnah would mostly ask from him news about Gandhi as he appeared to be under

the impression that the Orient Press had a reasonable office at Srinagar and received news from all over for distribution.⁴¹² That, however, was not the case. Khurshid recalls his several meetings with Jinnah, including three at the bungalow at Nishat before joining him as his private staff. It was in this house that leaders of the Muslim Conference, Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas, Mirwaiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah and Allah Rakha Sagar, and the National Conference leader, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, separately met Jinnah. On the conclusion of his meeting with Abdullah in the lawns of the bungalow, Jinnah took him to the garage to show his car which was giving some trouble. Abdullah promised to send someone to inspect the vehicle and a mechanic did actually arrive while the Muslim Conference delegation was still there. At *Kushik*, Abdullah's meeting with Jinnah on 13 May began at 5.45 p.m. and lasted till 8 p.m.⁴¹³ The official organ of Abdullah's National Conference, *Daily Khidmat*, reported that no third person was present in the meeting and neither of the two leaders disclosed the details of their deliberations. Later, when asked what transpired between him and Jinnah, Abdullah replied, "It was a normal discussion on current situation which could have no relation with speculations in the media."⁴¹⁴ On 5 June, National Conference leaders, Mohammad Sayeed Masoodi and Khawaja Ghulam Mohi ud Din also met Jinnah.⁴¹⁵

On 26 June at the *Queen Elizabeth*, Jinnah received the news about the death of a prominent Muslim League leader, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung of Hyderabad, Deccan. The news was broken to him by Khurshid who, by now a frequent visitor, had earlier in the morning heard it on the All India Radio and was hoping to be the first to get Jinnah's reaction. On hearing the news, Jinnah, at first, was not inclined to believe it saying that on two earlier occasions the All India Radio had broadcast the news of his own death, once leading the Sindh Assembly to move a condolence

resolution. He, however, assured Khurshid that if the news was correct he would be the first to get his reaction. By the evening when Jinnah had received many telegrams informing about the demise of the Muslim League leader, Khurshid again visited him along with Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas, who had actually come to say good-bye before leaving for Jammu, and got his reaction which Jinnah dictated to Mr. Lobo, his Christian Secretary from Goa. It was during this meeting that Jinnah asked Khurshid if he would join him as his private secretary.

At Srinagar, Jinnah received a letter from Gandhi which Khurshid was tasked to translate into English as one of his first assignments as Jinnah's private secretary. The letter led to Jinnah-Gandhi talks in September 1944.⁴¹⁶ Gandhi, after he had been released from jail on 6 May 1944 due to illness, had offered to meet Jinnah who wrote back from Srinagar:

... I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which will probably be about the middle of August. By that time I hope that you will have recuperated your health fully and will be returning to Bombay. I would like to say nothing more till we meet. I am very pleased to read in the Press that you are making very good progress, and I hope that you will soon be all right.⁴¹⁷

Tej Bahadur Sapru, a prominent Indian National Congress leader, then remarked to Gandhi: "I have no doubt that a ... man like you can afford to be 'received'!"⁴¹⁸

Liaquat Ali arrives

Jinnah was still in Kashmir when his close aide and confidante, Liaquat Ali Khan accompanied by his wife, Rana Liaquat Ali, also arrived in the Valley. The couple joined the Jinnahs and together they visited some tourist places also.⁴¹⁹ They were seen walking on the Bund near the General Post

Office one afternoon while Khan was carrying a fly-whisk.⁴²⁰ In K. H. Khurshid's *Memories of Jinnah*⁴²¹, there is a photograph in which besides Jinnah, Rana and Liaquat, is seen a young and pretty girl. The caption of the photograph reads: "The Quaid – a rare moment of relaxation in Kashmir with his daughter, Dina and Nawabzada and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan." Jinnah is seen in a semi reclining position with his left cheek rested on the right shoulder of his daughter. What is significant about the picture is that it shows that Dina had accompanied Jinnah on his last visit to Kashmir which fact, otherwise, is not known.

The *Quaid-e-Azam* also had a meeting in Kashmir with Sayyid Jamaat Ali Shah⁴²², a Muslim spiritual personality reverentially called as *Amir-i-Millat* (Leader of the Faithful), while both were in Kashmir.⁴²³ The latter asked Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas to invite Jinnah for a dinner who said that there was no need for it as both of them were guests in Kashmir but he would visit him. The dinner was arranged in a large hall at the residence of one Dr. Abdul Ahad, where a large number of guests and Sayyid's disciples participated. As Jinnah arrived with Abbas, Sayyid Jamaat Ali stood up to greet him. Jinnah sat on the ground instead of sitting next to him. When asked to sit with the Sayyid, he reportedly remarked: "A person without etiquettes never succeeds in his mission. My aim is to create Pakistan and therefore I do not want to be deprived of this honour."⁴²⁴ The *wazwan* was served and the Sayyid insisted that Jinnah taste all dishes. He enjoyed the dinner and commented, "I want to steal this cook from you."⁴²⁵ The two discussed creation of Pakistan and Sayyid Jamaat Ali Shah gave him a green and a black flag and prayed for the success of his mission. Jinnah is said to have later stated in Lahore that it was his faith that Pakistan would be a reality as the *Amir-i-Millat* had said so and that he was sure Allah would make true his words.⁴²⁶

On his return via the Jhelum Valley Road on 25 July, Jinnah addressed a public meeting at Baramulla which was disrupted by a group of National Conference workers led by Mohammad Maqbool Sherwani.⁴²⁷ In his speech, Jinnah asked people to unite under one banner to see their misery coming to an end. As the Muslim Conference supporters were raising pro-Jinnah and pro-Muslim Conference slogans, Sherwani, who had sneaked into the public meeting along with some of his supporters, started raising pro-Sheikh Abdullah and pro-National Conference slogans which led to commotion and disruption of the public meeting. The disruption was a deliberate attempt by the National Conference after the party had failed to win over Jinnah's support during his stay at Srinagar. It was also meant to show him that Abdullah alone was the leader in Kashmir. In the scuffle between the supporters of the two parties, Inayat Ullah Kakroo of the Muslim Conference was injured while Sant Singh Taigh of the National Conference was beaten up. In the evening, the Muslim Conference supporters chased Sherwani who, in order to save himself, jumped into the River Jhelum and swam across to safety. Jinnah also addressed people at Uri and Muzaffarabad where two rooms of the PWD Dak Bungalow were booked for him by Sonam Norboo⁴²⁸, then Assistant Engineer, who subsequently became a Cabinet Minister in 1975. Jinnah left for Rawalpindi the following day.

Sadly for Muhammad Ali Jinnah, his two and a half month long stay in Kashmir failed to bring about reconciliation between the National Conference and the Muslim Conference, the two ideologically opposite political parties of Jammu and Kashmir. The reason was rigidity on either side. While Jinnah was spearheading a movement for a separate country for Muslims of the subcontinent and could not be expected to support a different stand for the Muslim majority Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had mentally thrown his lot with

Jawaharalal Nehru and his politics much before the events of 1947 unfolded.

The Kashmir visit of 1944 was very tiring for Jinnah during which he remained awfully busy. He was, however, overwhelmed by the love people had showered on him, notwithstanding the spoilsport played by the National Conference after Jinnah refused to do Sheikh Abdullah's bidding in Kashmir. On 22 August, after an exhausting tour, he wrote to a friend, "I broke down because of the crushing, gushing affection of the people, from the day I started from Srinagar. I had to pay the penalty for having satisfied them to the utmost of my capacity. But I am glad to tell you that I am almost all right and will soon be able to resume my work."⁴²⁹

Kashmir, a constant care

Jinnah's desire to again visit Kashmir in 1947 was not met with favourable response from the Kashmir Government. On the eve of the Partition, while several prominent politicians of India including Mahatma Gandhi, Acharya Kriplani, then President Indian National Congress and Sikh rulers of Kapurthala, Faridkot and Patiala states visited Maharaja Hari Singh, Jinnah's wish to visit Kashmir was turned down by the latter. "The Quaid-e-Azam himself wanted to go to Kashmir about the middle of September; he hoped to have a friendly talk with the Maharaja, but the Maharaja did not want him to come."⁴³⁰ From August, the situation in Kashmir changed fast. On Gandhi's intervention, Prime Minister Ram Chander Kak, a votary of an independent Kashmir, had been removed and a pro-India Mehar Chand Mahajan was already in his seat. After the Partition, as the situation in Kashmir was fluid with Hari Singh still being undecided about the accession of Jammu & Kashmir with either of the two newly created States, Jinnah asked his military secretary, Colonel William Birnie, to go to Kashmir

and arrange for him to spend a couple of weeks there. Birnie returned after five days to convey that the ruler of Kashmir did not agree to his visit.⁴³¹ "The turn of events in Kashmir had an adverse effect on the *Quaid-e-Azam's* health. At the time of Partition he had been confident of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan because of its Muslim population and geographical situation...Now he felt deceived, and his earlier optimism gave way to a deep disappointment".⁴³² One of his close aides quoted him saying, "We have been put on the wrong bus."⁴³³

In the meanwhile, Poonch, in the western part of Jammu province and home to 65,000 World War II veterans, rose in revolt against Maharaja Hari Singh. In six weeks, the districts of Poonch and Mirpur, except the town of Poonch, had been cleared of State troops.⁴³⁴ The massacre of Muslims in Jammu and arrival of large number of refugees in Pakistan further aggravated the situation. A storm was brewing in the tribal areas of Pakistan where news of massacre of Muslims by Hari Singh's forces had reached through refugees and ex-soldiers of Poonch who had gone there to purchase arms.⁴³⁵ The feelings of the tribesmen were inflamed and they felt obliged to wage *jihad* in Kashmir. Jinnah was oblivious of these developments. On 21 October, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan informed Chaudhri Muhammad Ali "in a state of unusual excitement that a tribal lashkar, some thousands strong, was on the way to Kashmir."⁴³⁶ Ali asked Khan if he had informed the *Quaid-e-Azam*. He replied, "Not yet", as he had just received the report.⁴³⁷ Notwithstanding the Indian narrative on the development, the Deputy Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir, R. L. Batra, declared on the morning of 24 October that the insurgent forces were "tribesmen who are out of control of the Pakistan Government."⁴³⁸ Alastair Lamb elaborates it further:

There remains one major question to answer. What part had the Government of Pakistan to play in this military

venture into the State of Jammu & Kashmir? In a formal sense the Government as such took no part at all. The Governor-General, M. A. Jinnah, was kept ignorant of all details, though naturally he was aware that there was trouble of some sort brewing in Kashmir; and the Pakistan Cabinet took no minuted stance on this matter.⁴³⁹

The rest is history.

On 27 October, when the Indian army landed in Srinagar, Jinnah flew to Lahore to be nearer and able to watch the fate of Muslims in Kashmir.⁴⁴⁰ He wanted to send his 'half-formed army' in their aid but Field-Marshal Claude Auchinleck, the Supreme Commander administering partition of Indian Army, refused to do so, threatening that he would withdraw all British officers, including the Commanders-in-Chief of both India and Pakistan in the event of any action by the Pakistan army.⁴⁴¹ The move had to be abandoned. On 1 November 1947, as Governor General of the freshly created Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Jinnah offered to visit Kashmir along with his Indian counterpart, Lord Mountbatten, who had a three and a half hour long meeting with him at Lahore to sort out the Kashmir issue. Mountbatten had offered India's willingness to hold plebiscite in Kashmir if "Pakistan withdrew the Azad Kashmir Forces and their allies".

Jinnah did not like the proposition as it entailed continued presence of Indian troops in Kashmir and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in the chair. Instead, he proposed simultaneous withdrawal of Pathan and Indian forces and joint control of Kashmir by the two countries till the Indian and Pakistani leadership sorted out matters including making arrangement for holding free and fair plebiscite. Jinnah "guaranteed his counterpart that the two of them would be able to solve the problem once and forever, if Mountbatten was ready to fly with him to Srinagar at once."⁴⁴² The proposal, however, fell flat as

India was not agreeable to such an arrangement. Mountbatten, in any case, would not have wanted such an opportunity coming Jinnah's way for "So piqued was he with Jinnah for denying him a piece of history as Governor General of Pakistan, that he began to settle scores with Jinnah even on sensitive issues like Kashmir."⁴⁴³ Mountbatten did not hide his displeasure and, among other things, "advised [Ian] Stephens to abandon plans of publishing *The Statesman* from Pakistan."⁴⁴⁴

The last year of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's life was "saddened by his despair over the fate of Kashmir".⁴⁴⁵ Till his demise on 11 September 1948, Kashmir emotionally remained nearest to his heart. On his first death anniversary in September 1949, Fatima Jinnah in her broadcast from Radio Pakistan said:

The question of Kashmir was nearest to the *Quaid-e-Azam's* heart during the last few days of his life. The only news which interested him whether on the Radio or in the papers was regarding Kashmir, he always felt very unhappy that this problem was being delayed.⁴⁴⁶

Next year, on the same occasion, Jinnah's sister told her countrymen that the "*Quaid-e-Azam* died with Kashmir as his constant care."⁴⁴⁷

A SCRIPTED CONTROVERSY

ON 1 March 1982, legislator Ghulam Ahmad Shunthu was feverishly making a point in the Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly when he suffered a severe heart attack. Before he fell down and was removed to a hospital where he breathed his last, he was arguing for the promotion of Urdu in a State where it was facing neglect despite being its official language. The Assembly was debating the state of Urdu in the face of its slow but steady eviction from the four walls of administration. The Member was overtaken by emotions and ended up in becoming a martyr of Urdu. Sadly, Shunthu's sacrifice did not change the fate of the language.

For a long time now, Urdu in Jammu & Kashmir is a victim of official neglect resulting in its steady decline. The Urdu lovers occasionally raise their voice against the treatment meted out to the language and demand measures for its promotion. In response, the Government, once in a while, announces constitution of a committee to look into the demand and

suggest measures for promotion of the official language. The matter rests there until the demand is raised again. In between, the official language would have lost more ground over the State affairs. Half of the problem Urdu language faces in Jammu & Kashmir springs from the ambiguity in the constitutional guarantee supposed to protect its declared status. Section 145 of the Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir, enacted in 1956, accords Urdu the status of Official Language. It reads:

The Official Language shall be Urdu but the English language shall, unless the Legislature by Law otherwise provides, continue to be used for all the official purposes of the State for which it was to be used immediately before the commencement of the Constitution.

Evidently, the official language status accorded to Urdu by the Constitution was only theoretical while practically for all the official purposes of the State the English language was sought to be used. It is no surprise then that over the years since the promulgation of the Constitution, the ground for Urdu in the State is rapidly shrinking.

Urdu as Official Language

Looking back, Urdu in Jammu & Kashmir earned the status of official language during the Dogra rule (1846-1947). Earlier, Persian was the official language for several centuries and was spoken and written by both Muslims and Hindus so much so that in *Tazkira-e-Shora-i-Kashmir*, a book on poets of Kashmir by Allama Rashidi, the author identifies as many as 1678 Kashmiri poets of Persian language.⁴⁴⁸ However, the penultimate Dogra ruler, Pratap Singh replaced Persian with Urdu as the official language in 1888 AD⁴⁴⁹ This was done at the instance of the Urdu knowing Punjabi Hindus recruited by the Maharaja on some key posts in the State services. The Kashmiri Pandits, constituting a major component of Government services, were proficient in

Persian and were adversely affected by the change. They raised their voice against it. So far as the Muslims were concerned the change did not affect them much as their presence in the State services was negligible and Persian and Urdu both had the same Arabic script.

Ironically, efforts to dislodge Urdu from its official position started soon after Pratap Singh's death when the Dogras were still in power. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf unveils factors behind this development:

Kashmir State had always a special appeal for Hindu India for the simple reason that it was a State with a Muslim majority but ruled by a Hindu Prince. There were, no doubt, hundreds among the 562 Indian States ruled by British-protected Hindu feudal dynasties but nowhere else did a Hindu prince rule a Muslim majority. It was, therefore, the first Hindu kingdom of its kind since Muslims overran the sub-continent more than nine hundred years ago. When Brahmins talked of freedom from the British, it meant, apart from the exit of the foreigners, the realisation of their deep longing to rule Muslims. That the same end stood already attained in Kashmir State, made it all the more dearer to their heart. With Ayyangar at the helm of affairs, the more militant among them decided upon a more drastic measure towards the cultural genocide of Muslims by compelling them to learn Hindi. Yet another reason for its importance was that Urdu being the State's official language, large sections of non-Muslims were not attracted by Sanskrit or Hindi. It seems that the elders of the community were afraid of the supposed consequences flowing from their coming generation being brought up under the influence of Urdu language.⁴⁵⁰

During early 1940s, attempts to dislodge Urdu started by imposing Hindi through Devanagri script. It evoked strong opposition from the Muslims, both on political and religious

front. The leading political party of Jammu & Kashmir, the National Conference, and the Mirwaiz of Kashmir took a stand against the Government decision till one time when, paradoxically, President of the National Conference, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah whose adversaries later accused him of having thrown his lot with India years before Jammu & Kashmir was supposed to decide on its future, declared that if the Indian National Congress opted for the Sanskrit script he would readily go with it.⁴⁵¹

Ayyangar's mischief

The anti-Urdu developments began to unravel in 1940, when Hari Singh's Prime Minister, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar⁴⁵² announced a government move that Muslim majority of Jammu & Kashmir saw as the first of a series of attempts to displace Urdu as the State's official language. A passage by Ian Stephens, the then editor of *The Statesman*, may help understand the kind of person Ayyangar was. He writes:

When I read in September that Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar, a very able and reputedly anti-Muslim Madrasi Brahmin who was the prime minister of Kashmir from 1937 to 1943, had been made Minister without Portfolio in the new Indian Cabinet, I said to our editorial conference in Calcutta: 'That really does look as if India's up to something at Srinagar', and our correspondents were told to watch for news.⁴⁵³

The appointment of Ayyangar as the Prime Minister in 1937 was a moment of celebration for the minority community. Local journalist and later head of the State's Publicity Department, Janki Nath Zutshi, summed up the reason in one of his write-ups thus:

Mr. Aiyengar's advent as the Prime Minister in Kashmir has caused a jubilation in the Hindu circles of this place. They have been moved to ecstasy at the sight of Mr. Aiyengar's

forehead which is remarkable for accommodating a large trident-shaped tilak on it. Added to this he wears a flowing dhoti."⁴⁵⁴

A Srinagar based newspaper, in an editorial comment, remembered Ayyangar as the originator of many communally inclined negative innovations like the introduction of dual script in schools, and permission to Rajput Hindus to possess arms and ammunition without license while other communities were altogether banned from possessing arms.⁴⁵⁵

Through a seemingly insignificant advertisement published in a newspaper, Ayyangar's Administration invited applications from 'Hindi-knowing candidates only' for a post of clerk in the Translation Section of the Maharaja's office. That time, no hidden motive was read in the advertisement till a few days later when a press release was issued by the Government announcing renaming in Hindi of the State Council of Ministers and other institutions. The Assembly was rechristened as *Praja Sabha*, its President as *Pramukh* and members as *Praja Sabha Sad*.⁴⁵⁶ The change in nomenclature was made without consulting the Assembly or seeking public opinion.

The announcement created misgivings and suspicion in the minds of people, especially the Muslim majority, who saw in it a conspiracy to force Hindi language on them. Soon, the fears came true when the Government constituted a committee and asked it to consider introduction of the *Devanagri* script in Government business in addition to the compulsory Persian script.⁴⁵⁷ The Committee did not agree with the idea of change in the script, for it took the view that "as Urdu was spoken and written throughout the State, any change was bound to result in unnecessary hardship both for the people as well as the Government."⁴⁵⁸

The unanimous report of the Committee was not accepted by the Administration that appeared to be up to a mischief. The monkey business of the Government soon unravelled itself when it sent packing the Minister of Education, Raja Muhammad Afzal Khan, who supported the Committee's view. The ouster of Khan was followed, on 21 October 1940, by an order stating that the language of instruction would be common, intriguingly, termed as 'Simple Urdu' and to be written in both Persian and Devanagri scripts. Text books were ordered to be printed in the same language and in both scripts. The order enjoined upon teachers to learn the other script within one year and, for future, recruitment as teachers was banned for those who did not know both the scripts. The confirmation of the in-service teachers was subjected to learning the other script.

The order caused serious apprehensions among the Muslims, especially teachers, who were by now about 40% of the total strength of the State's teaching cadre, as none of them was acquainted with the Devanagri script. There was more to come. Ayyangar, a Tamil by birth whose brethren years later launched a bloody agitation against the imposition of Hindi in Tamil Nadu, ordered replacement of the word 'Simple Urdu' by 'Hindi Urdu' which, however, was opposed, besides Muslims, by Director Education and, accordingly, withdrawn.

Opposition to script change

The National Conference opposed the Government order. On 14 January 1941, the party organized a state-wide protest against it. A huge protest meeting was held at the Shahi [Pathar] Masjid and a resolution demanding withdrawal of the Devanagri script order was adopted. The party members resigned *en bloc* from the Assembly when a motion seeking to reverse the script order was not allowed by the President of the Assembly.

However, the party turned out to be a divided house when its Kashmiri Pandit leaders, including Prem Nath Bazaz, sided with the Government.

On the religious front, Mirwaiz Molvi Muhammad Yusuf Shah warned Maharaja Hari Singh of the problems the order could cause "both for the ruler and his subjects, besides denting the former's good image." He addressed a large public meeting at the Eidgah, met Prime Minister Ayyangar and conveyed to him the apprehensions of the Muslim community. He sent a 14-page memorandum, written in Urdu, to Hari Singh hitting hard at the "young, less experienced and ignorant-of-the-local-history non-Muslim" Prime Minister Ayyangar, for introduction of Hindi and Devanagri script in an overwhelmingly Muslim majority State.⁴⁵⁹ The memorandum was sent to Ayyangar with a covering letter with the request to forward it to the Maharaja. It is a document of historical importance and points to "a conspiracy against Urdu" and highlights apprehensions of the Muslims of Jammu & Kashmir. The Mirwaiz described the Government move as carrying "evil motives and ill intentions" that came to the fore "only with the arrival of the present Prime Minister". The Mirwaiz blamed the "enemies of Urdu" of hatred, contempt and prejudice towards the language for the "sole reason that its alphabets were Arabic and script Persian, both having special relationship with Muslims." "Would not the overwhelming majority of your subjects then be justified in construing as anti-Islam the prejudiced attempts to throw this commonly understood language out?", the Mirwaiz asked from the Maharaja. He suggested him to look at the issue from this angle to understand that the attempts against Urdu were an "impure stain" with which he would not like to blemish his "holy robe of justice". He alleged that the imposition of Hindi was an attempt to break the lingual and trade relationship of Kashmir with the Muslims of Punjab.

The memorandum accused, what it called, the "Mahasabhaian, the Ghandhian and the Nehruvian mindset" being behind the decision to change the script and language. This, the Mirwaiz alleged, was aimed at destroying the *qaumiyat* of Muslims by denying to their future generations access to a language that holds their "religious, spiritual and literary knowledge resources and information about the great achievements of their forefathers, their conquests, their civilization and culture." According to the memorandum, Hindi was sought to be imposed by giving it a deceptive name of Simple Urdu but it was not difficult for anybody to see through this conspiracy. "We can see today what is to come tomorrow", the Mirwaiz wrote. He cautioned the Maharaja that the mindset at work in Kashmir and the situation sought to be created by duplicating the "Mahasabhaian policies" was "drawing people in Kashmir closer to the idea of Pakistan because in their minds it would be the only way to get rid of these troubles".

The mood in Kashmir was of anger and apprehension. The Muslims felt that the Government was working on a larger agenda of their cultural subjugation and possibly reconversion to Hinduism.⁴⁶⁰ The Mirwaiz was very clear in expressing this anxiety when he identified as the root of the Government decision an article by a right-wing Indian Hindu leader suggesting various measures for making the Muslims *shudh*, a term used for reconversion of Muslims and Christians to Hinduism. These included removing Arabic, Persian and Urdu as languages of instruction, facilitating mass propagation of Hindi and Devanagiri script, christening places, buildings, meetings and individuals in Hindi and Sanskrit and issuing titles and related documents in Hindi. The Mirwaiz pointed out that the guidelines proposed in the article have started being implemented in the State. He specifically referred to the rechristening of Islamabad, a south

Kashmir town and district, as Anantnag, royal palaces given Hindi names, General Samandar Khan addressed as Thakur Samandar Khan and the nomenclature of the Assembly and its members changed into Hindi. The Mirwaiz reacted sharply to these changes and stated that instead of imposing an "unfamiliar language" on the people, the Prime Minister should have been asked to learn Urdu, the official language of the State.

While the Mirwaiz was seen as expressing a popular sentiment of the State's overwhelming majority population, the National Conference soon appeared in a split mind. Its Hindu leaders openly took the pro-Government stand which was the same as taken by Jawaharlal Nehru on the subject of national language for India. Prem Nath Bazaz supported the Nehruian line for Kashmir. He wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi and claimed that, in reply, the latter had informed him that he did not see any flaw in the Kashmir Government's order.⁴⁶¹ However, when Bazaz was asked to place the letter before the working committee of the National Conference he refused to do so. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah took up the matter with Gandhi who wrote back that his opinion was not final as he had not heard the other side which was now supplied to him by the National Conference. Gandhi then did not offer his opinion.⁴⁶² Bazaz opposed the resolution of the National Conference Working Committee on the script issue and even walked out of the venue while Abdullah was still speaking in the meeting called to discuss the matter. He resigned from the Working Committee of the party.⁴⁶³

The Hindu Press⁴⁶⁴ of Punjab stood behind the Maharaja's Government. *The Tribune* in particular came out with news stories castigating the National Conference's Muslim leadership for agitating against the imposition of the Devanagari script. Giving a damn to the apprehensions of the Muslim majority,

the newspaper wrote that the National Conference had "created feelings in the minds of non-Muslims that they cannot expect justice from the [National] Conference Party in the matter of safeguarding their linguistic and cultural interests."⁴⁶⁵

Motivated Press

In Jammu also, the Press was motivated to do pro-Devanagari stories. The Maharaja's Government used journalists to generate public support for its decision on the script issue and there were some who willingly offered their services to do the government's bidding. For one, journalist B. P. Sharma arranged to bring out a Special Supplement of the *Chand* and published a letter in his name in *The Tribune* in support of the Government order. As if to prove that he was furthering the agenda of the Government, he forwarded to the Maharaja Hari Singh's Government a free translation of "the talk on the script issue" with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah besides clippings of *The Tribune* and the *Karachi Daily*. Sharma in a letter dated 21 January 1942 addressed to the Publicity Officer of the Government acknowledged receipt of a copy of the book entitled 'National Language for India' and admitted having made full use of it while supporting the Government point of view on the script controversy. The letter could be described as the first known proof of, what we now know as, embedded journalism in Jammu & Kashmir, in which an 'independent journalist' minces no words to suggest that he had worked for the Government. It reads:

I thank you very much for lending me the book entitled "NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA". You will be glad to know that I have made full use of the chapter containing Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's views on the subject. I have in today's mail received a copy of the "HINDUSTAN TIMES" containing a letter on the subject, which I am submitting herewith.⁴⁶⁶ In addition to this I got

an excellent opportunity the other day, when the President of the National Conference invited a press conference at Jammu. Mr. Abdullah, as you will see, could not answer my questions satisfactorily. A summary of the talk on the subject has appeared in today's "TRIBUNE" of which a cutting is enclosed. In addition, I arranged to bring out a Special Supplement of the "CHAND" containing fuller account. A free translation of the talk on the script issue is being submitted herewith.

In his letter published in the *The Hindustan Times*, Sharma labelled opposition of the Muslims to the script order as of "nasty shape".⁴⁶⁷ He literally accused Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah of "deceit" for not following Nehru's views on the controversy. Invoking Nehru, whom he described as "one of the greatest nationalist leaders of India", on the subject of National Language for India, he asked Abdullah to follow his commitment of making him the sole arbitrator on any issue cropping up between the majority Muslims and minority Hindus in Jammu & Kashmir. Sharma wrote:

If Mr. Abdullah does not accept the views of Panditji on the script issue, what sanction is there behind his oft-made declaration that he is prepared to appoint Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as the sole arbitrator to settle the difference between the majority community and the minorities in Kashmir? If the declaration is not a deceit, Mr. Abdullah should take courage in both hands and give the right lead to the Muslims of Kashmir.⁴⁶⁸

Intriguingly, Sharma became the Principal Information Officer of the same Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah whom he sought to cut to size in his letter and statement, after the latter became, first, the Emergency Administrator, and later, the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir post-1947.

The Hindu organizations in Jammu also chipped in and passed resolutions supporting the Government order on the Devanagri script.

Abdullah's U-turn

Earlier, on 18 January 1942, Abdullah had addressed a press conference at the Metro Hotel, in Jammu where he was confronted by some journalists including Sharma on his alleged contradiction in declaring Nehru as the only arbitrator on any issue arising between the majority and the minority community of the State, and not accepting his opinion on the script controversy. Abdullah tried to convince them that Nehru might have expressed his views on the subject through an article but the Congress Party was yet to make and announce its decision. "The Congress has completed 55 years of its existence and still has not been able to take a decision on the issue of language. In comparison, the National Conference is only three years old and the Government has put it to a test"⁴⁶⁹, Abdullah argued. He also quoted Gandhi writing to him that till such time the Congress Party decided on the matter he would not be able to give his final opinion.⁴⁷⁰

Abdullah told reporters that all he wanted was an official resolution of the Congress Party on the subject that alone would satisfy him of the wisdom of the position created in Kashmir. He said that he would not object if the Congress wanted Sanskrit as the National Language. Abdullah observed:

If the Congress decides today to make Sanskrit as the National Language of India, I will readily accept the decision, as I would accept it if the Congress decided to have Persian as the National Language.⁴⁷¹

This was clearly a U-turn on the stand Abdullah had taken earlier. Initially, he had followed a pro-Urdu line and his National

Conference members in the Assembly had resigned against the Government order. On 25 May 1941, during the National Conference General Council meeting, he angrily reacted to a suggestion of a Pandit leader that the matter be referred to the Congress for opinion. He allegedly spoke harshly about the Congress and Gandhi. Quoting from the *Al-Islah* of June 1941, Saraf reproduces the angry reaction of Abdullah thus:

Gandhiji does not always say what he really believes. He has taken wrong decisions a thousand times. Hindus may treat him as a Mahatma but I am not prepared to do so. In the past he has committed a hundred mistakes. Every action of his is self contradictory. The communal tension in India is of his creation. It is he who has poisoned the politics of the sub-continent. In fact the truth is that Muslims are not at all at fault and it is Gandhiji who wants to be unjust to them. I know that Hindus are in control of the Congress. It is the Congress of fanatic Hindus like Sampuranand and Piyare Lal.⁴⁷²

However, Abdullah suddenly changed gears and declared that he would accept for Jammu & Kashmir what the Indian National Congress would decide for India on the language issue. By 1942, it was clear that he had second thoughts on the script controversy. The dilution of his stand encouraged the Hari Singh's Government to go ahead with its agenda.

In 1943, the State Council ordered 'Simple Urdu' to be the medium of instruction with a common vocabulary of Hindi and Urdu languages. The officially prepared vocabulary included at least a couple of thousand Hindi words which were not common with Urdu and were incomprehensible even for moderately educated Hindi speaking people.⁴⁷³ These had been deliberately drawn from orthodox Sanskrit language. The cutting at the roots of Urdu in Jammu & Kashmir had begun, ironically

at the hands of the same ruling dynasty which had conferred on it the royal status only four decades ago.

In 1944, the National Conference adopted its manifesto titled the *Naya Kashmir* or the New Kashmir whose Article 22 declared that Urdu shall be the official language of Jammu & Kashmir and a link language between various regions and communities of the State. The script controversy, however, kept simmering for a long time. In September 1945, Kashmiri Pandits publicly joined the pro-Hindi bandwagon. They took out processions in the city during which slogans were raised in support of Hindu culture, Hindi script and Hindu religion. "The processionists distributed pencil posters exhorting their co-religionists to nominate such persons as would safeguard their community interests and popularize Hindi language in the state".⁴⁷⁴

After the termination of the Dogra rule in 1947, the *Naya Kashmir* declaration about Urdu was incorporated in the Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir as Section 145. However, the official language of the State did not have a smooth sail. Over the years, it became victim of both official and public indifference. Concurrent with this apathy, an anti-Muslim mindset purposely identified the language with Muslims and, as the perceived symbol of their culture, knowledge, literature and religion, remained its prime target. Professor Quddus Jawaid who taught Urdu language and literature at the University of Kashmir and the Central University, Kashmir for over three decades, believes that Urdu has practically lost 75% of its official status in the State. From Government departments the language has been almost unseated. In departments like Revenue and Judiciary, it is only partially used while in Jammu its minimal use also has been given a send off. The ration cards and voter lists are printed in English or Hindi. Signboards of hospitals, Government departments, ministers and Government officials

there too are written in these languages rather than in the official language. Jawaid attributes attempts to dislodge Urdu from the official domain to the concept of 'One Nation, One Religion and One Language' propounded by the right wing Hindus in India.

Reacting to criticism that it was doing precious little to arrest decline of the State's official language, the Jammu & Kashmir Government on 5 April 2013 constituted a High Level Committee to recommend measures for promotion of Urdu language.⁴⁷⁵ The Committee, among other things, recommended setting up of *Jammu & Kashmir State Council for Promotion of Urdu* with aims and objectives to promote and propagate Urdu language in the State; advise the Government on connecting Urdu with employment and its propagation through curriculum and other means; take steps for making available in Urdu language knowledge of scientific and technological development; liaise with the State Government and other agencies in matters relating to promotion of Urdu language; and, undertake projects for the promotion of Urdu language as the Council may deem fit. The proposed functions of the Council include taking steps and suggesting to the Government ways and means for promotion and propagation of Urdu language in the State; coordinating activities undertaken by various institutions of the Government for promotion of Urdu language; arranging for sale and exhibition of Urdu books in the State; running vocational skill based courses in Urdu calligraphy and computer; advising and suggesting the Government on Urdu curriculum for schools and colleges; giving scholarships to meritorious students in Urdu language; instituting an annual Urdu Award for propagation of the official language in J&K by any individual, institution of NGO; providing financial assistance to small and medium Urdu newspapers/journals for promotion of Urdu journalism; running orientation courses in Urdu language for

non-urdu speaking officials of the Government; advising the Government on issues connected with Urdu language as may be referred to it; and, undertaking any other activity for promotion of Urdu language as may be deemed fit by the Council.

Other recommendations of the Committee include modifications in recruitment rules for direct entry posts in the departments like Revenue, Home, Law, and Judiciary to ensure that the direct entrants in these services possess adequate knowledge of Urdu; and, establishment of separate cadre of language specific teachers in School Education Department. The Committee observed serious deficiency of Urdu teachers in Government schools and highlighted requirement of 14,894 Urdu language specific and 8,131 general line Urdu teachers in primary, middle and high schools in Jammu & Kashmir. It also recommended creation of additional 6,763 posts of Urdu language specific teachers.

The Committee submitted its report to the Government on 4 October 2013. Ever since, the 20-page report rests in peace in the graveyard of official record – the Civil Secretariat. Ironically on 22 February 2018, the Government in contravention of the recommendations of the High Level Committee, announced constitution of State Council for Promotion of Urdu Language in J&K with 38 members besides a Chairman. On 6 March 2018, another 14 members and a Vice-Chairman were added to the purported Council, without even spelling out aims, objectives and functions of the Council. Given the composition of the Council, it was evident that the Government had not bothered to go through the Report of the High Level Committee, not to speak of considering it, and had constituted a large body of official and non-official members instead of an autonomous institution as envisaged and approved by the Government earlier.⁴⁷⁶

RECOLLECTIONS OF A CENTURY

LISTENING to a keen observer and a wise centurion reflect on his life and times is like walking through history. Such people are a treasure trove of information about our past. They literally hold chronicles inside their chests, and there is no experience as rewarding as making such an individual unlock his chest. Until recently, there was one living repository of history at Sonawar, a locality in the north-Srinagar city.

Muhammad Sidiq Parray travelled to the eternal world on 21 March 2013 at the age of 106. He lived an eventful life spanning through the reign of the last two Dogra autocrats⁴⁷⁷, Pratap Singh and Hari Singh, and over six decades of the so-called popular rule in Kashmir. He left behind his yet-to-be-published memoirs, aptly titled *'My 100 Years'* that allows a wide

view of the Kashmir of yesteryears. Parray was a close friend of Michael Henry (also Harry) Nedou⁴⁷⁸, father-in-law of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, and privy to his family matters including an incident that nearly finished the marriage of Abdullah. During a long conversation with the present author⁴⁷⁹, Parray spoke about his life and times and important events unfolding in Kashmir that he had witnessed firsthand. His narration is reproduced here in the first person account:

Secret of long life

It is a great feeling. I am very happy and contented and hope that Almighty would grant me many more years to live. I have spent a lively life and never lost nerve in the face of the severest difficulty that came in my way. I have lived a life of both deprivation and plenty but never let greed overtake me. My mother, although an illiterate, had taught me not to lose heart at the sight of a problem howsoever grave it might be. The one thing that has served me a good deal in life is patience and perseverance, especially when life went through rough patches. I have never thought ill of anyone and, to the best of my ability, have helped everybody. Honesty and truthfulness are what I have always tried to retain as the permanent feature of my character. I believe that if we steadfastly walk the path shown to us by Allah a contented long life is just one of the many rewards that He bestows upon his servants. All my children are well to do and live their own lives as do I my own. I have given up worldly things and am building my hereafter. After living for 100 plus years I am not tired and would like to live for another hundred years.

Early life

My Matriculation certificate shows my date of birth as 4 March 1907 but I am older to that by a couple of years as I

got admitted to school at an advanced age compared to other children. I must be 107 or 108. I was orphaned at 5. My father had 7 children and my widowed mother showed exemplary courage in bringing us up. She would sell milk to run the family mill. My brother, Abdul Aziz Parray became the first Muslim graduate of the area and obtained his Bachelors degree before Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beg.⁴⁸⁰ He was first appointed as a teacher in Tyndale Biscoe School, Anantnag and later joined as Inspector in the Police Department. He was one of the only two Muslim Police Inspectors in Kashmir, the other being a Jammuite. On a monthly income of Rs. 20 my father fed and brought up a large family. I was always intrigued to know how he did it, and that helped me a lot in life. After his death we had very bad time but Almighty ended those difficult days too. Dr. Ernest F. Neve's brother, Dr. Arthur Neve got my other brother appointed as a clerk in the Srinagar Carpet Factory.

So far as my childhood is concerned, I went to school as a fairly grown up child. I would help my mother in running the domestic chores and took cattle to graze on the *Takht-i-Sulaiman* hill⁴⁸¹. But I had this urge for going to school and without the knowledge of my family took private tuition from a Pandit teacher. I was soon able to study almost all the prescribed books up to 6th standard. When my family came to know about it they allowed me to appear in the examination which I passed and later joined S. P. School as a regular student of class 7. I passed my Matriculation examination in 1930 and did my F. A. in 1932. Because of acute poverty, Muslims in Kashmir had no access to education which was then a monopoly of the Pandit community⁴⁸². My two elder brothers and cousin were perhaps the first Muslims of the area to have attend a missionary school.

I have had a very close association with the Englishmen including Dr. Neve and Henry Nedous. It is possible that this

proximity had influenced my sense of dress. I have never worn *pheran*⁴⁸³ in my life. You will still find me clean shaven and I jokingly tell my children that when I will set out on the journey to hereafter I will go with a shaven face.

Sonawar of the childhood

Sonawar then had about 150 households. As was the case elsewhere in Kashmir those days, people were poor and had no permanent source of living. Being a place frequented by foreign tourists, most of the population in Sonawar and Dalgate⁴⁸⁴ would get seasonal employment in tourist trade. I recall two poor men earning fortunes with the dint of their hard work. A lot of Englishmen would daily visit the Srinagar Club near the Zero Bridge⁴⁸⁵. Dogs were not allowed inside the Club. There was this man who would take care of these dogs outside the Club and earn an *anna* or two in return. The other man carrying a basket full of bread on his head would walk miles shouting "*Double roti buzoor*" (Bread Sir!) and earn his meagre living. To the credit of both, they were hard working and ended up joining the elite of Kashmir. One of them later set up a fruit processing factory and the other opened a bakery shop and a hotel. The latter was my friend. Both of them did not feel shy in doing petty jobs to earn a living while most of the people those days would idle away time at the Polo Ground.⁴⁸⁶

Ours was a relatively better off family because my father had a round-the-year assured employment with a missionary physician, Dr. Ernest F. Neve.⁴⁸⁷ He would get a monthly retainer of Rs. 20, which by the standards of that time was a good income. My father's grave is the only one of those times that had a tombstone, a rough one though. That spoke of our relatively better economic condition. Overall, it was a period of deprivation for the people of Kashmir who were crushed under

an oppressive dispensation. Most of the poverty stricken people did not have a pajama to wear. I had a very limited friend circle that essentially comprised two persons, Abdus Samad Bhat and Ghulam Ahssan Bhat⁴⁸⁸ with whom I would spend most of my free time till they were alive.

The Dogra rule

Those were very bad times. The Administration, both police and civil, comprised only Dogras and Kashmiri Pandits. People were deprived of all rights and liberty and the Muslim subjects lived a life of abject dispossession. The Administration was ruthless. One would tremble to even think of the *zulm* that people would go through. The farmers had to part with most of their produce that was forcibly taken by the officials.⁴⁸⁹ There was this infamous and inhuman institution of *begar*⁴⁹⁰ which ran chill through the spines of people. They were scared of Maharaja's soldiers and avoided walking on roads lest they were spotted by the sepoys and taken on *begar*. Women were molested by *Shakdars*⁴⁹¹ in the name of body search to ascertain that they had not stolen fruit from the fields where they were forced to remove weeds. The officials of revenue and police administration like *Tehsildar* and down below and policemen were the institutions of repression and dreaded by the people. I recall one policeman, Nil Kanth of Puhroo village nicknamed as Nil Puhroo, who was posted at Munshi Bagh Police chowki under whose jurisdiction our area fell. He was a terrible man who caught people and sent them on *begar*. People would put huge stone mortars against their doors and hid themselves when they heard this cruel policeman was nearby. Such was the fear he had created among the population. I remember two men of our locality, Mukhta Mir and Khaliq Mir who were sent on *begar* to Ladakh, a treacherous journey from where not many returned. Razak Rather of Bonamsar, Sonawar was among such ill fated

people who perished *en-route*. When a person was taken on *begar*, the entire village would come out and weep for him as it was known that he would not return alive. The revenue officials who would draft people for *begar* beat drums and play music to drown the chest beating and wailing of women and, sort of, boost the morale of those being dispatched on *begar*.

Maharaja Pratap Singh was particularly awful. He had even banned burials in the graveyard at the *ziarat* of Syed Sahab⁴⁷², Sonawar because he did not like to see a funeral procession while he passed by. The ban remained in force for about 12 years till the death of my father, Ghulam Rasool Parray when it was lifted on the intervention of Dr. Ernest F. Neve who contacted the then Resident and ensured that we buried my father in our ancestral graveyard.

Memoirs

I was with my doctor son in the United States and one day while I was sitting idle at home a thought crossed my mind about recalling all that I had seen and gone through during my long life. I encouraged myself to do my autobiography so that my children would be acquainted with my trials and tribulations, and successes. This, I thought would give them strength to face life more resolutely. It is a narration of my resolve, determination and courage as well as of the social and political situation that prevailed in Kashmir.

I got employed in the revenue department in 1933. I started as a Receipt and Dispatch clerk and worked in many capacities including as Special Assistant and PRO to Financial Commissioner. I retired in 1963 as Office Superintendent of Revenue Training College. My Financial Commissioner was my friend since the days he was a *Naib Tehsildar*. He knew me very well and I was his trusted man. So full was his trust in me

that I would run the Commissionaire in his absence and even pass written orders on his behalf that he would subsequently confirm. I knew people in the department by name. Once when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was deposed and Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad⁴⁹³ took over he telephoned the Financial Commissioner and asked him to immediately sack a particular *Tehsildar* in Bandipore⁴⁹⁴ who had failed in his responsibility to help flood victims there. I told the Financial Commissioner that this fellow was a very good official and that it would be unjust to punish him. I suggested him to visit the place and have on the spot assessment. When he along with Governor Nab Ji went there it turned out that the poor man had done exceptional relief work and flood victims were all praise for the *Tehsildar* who was thus saved from being victimized for no fault of his. When the Prime Minister was informed about this he said that legislator Jail Baba had complained about the revenue official. It seemed that he had a grouse against the *Tehsildar* who might not have obliged him and was now on the lookout for an occasion to hit him. I was twice called to brief the cabinet when Gopalaswami Ayyangar was the Prime Minister during Hari Singh's rule.

Mehjoor, the poet

I had a servant who belonged to a village in Budgam where Mehjoor was the *Patwari*. He told me that Mehjoor had a problem and requested me to help him out. One day, Mehjoor along with another *Patwari* came to my office and told me about their problem. It was before 1947 and he was not very famous then. I helped him in lieu of which he conveyed his thanks in verses and also offered to provide me a helper for a year without being paid anything. He said he would himself pay him. I declined the offer. He was a competent *Patwari* and a very good poet too.

Muslims in Government Service

You could hardly find any Muslim in a government department. I was the only Muslim among the 32 clerks in the revenue department. Similar was the case elsewhere. As I said earlier, there were only two Muslim Police Inspectors in Kashmir. It was an all-Hindu Administration. I had a very tough time in learning my job when I was recruited in the revenue department. I was given the assignment of receipt and dispatch. I did not know how to do this job. None of my Hindu colleagues would help me. Then I looked out for one Mohammad Sidiq Wani of Bonamsar who had been appointed as a clerk in the Accountant General's office a year ago. He taught me and I picked up quickly.

My job was such that I had to move to Jammu with the Darbar Move⁴⁹⁵ in winters. Unlike present days, the offices would not move according to a set schedule. It was the sweet will of the Maharaja that determined the time of the Move. If he wished so, the Darbar Move from Jammu to Srinagar would delay up to the month of July. It was (Barjor) Dalal who later fixed 5 May as the date for Darbar Move.

Reflections on 13 July 1931

I am not a witness to the incident as I was not in Srinagar on the fateful day. I had gone with my brother to Shahabad Dooru where he was posted as a *Thanedar*. In the morning, we heard in the market that there had been firing in the Srinagar Jail. The news was brought by milkmen who had returned from Islamabad⁴⁹⁶ after sale of their produce. They said that the entire army stationed at Islamabad had been moved to Srinagar. We heard that people wanted to be allowed inside the jail to witness Qadeer's⁴⁹⁷ trial and tried to break in but were fired upon by the Dogra army, killing about 22 people. Some Kashmiri Pandits came to my brother and told him that they did not feel safe in

Shahabad Dooru and feared they might be harmed by Muslims. He sent them back after admonishment for talking about a non-existent threat. They went to Srinagar and complained to Governor Attar Singh against my brother who was immediately replaced by a Hindu *Thanedar*. My brother had to run from pillar to the post to know where he had to report for duty. Ultimately, he was transferred to Muzaffarabad⁴⁹⁸.

Henry Nedou

Henry Nedou⁴⁹⁹ had some issue with the revenue department with regard to state subject certificate which was not being issued to him for being an Englishman. He had land at Tangmarg and had asked one of his employees at his dairy farm, Abdullah Parray of Sonawar, if he knew someone who could help him out. It was the time when his son-in-law, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, was a mass political leader and the President of the Muslim Conference which had taken on the Maharaja's Government. Being so closely related to the Sheikh nobody would dare to help Nedou. Abdullah Parray had told him about me and he sent an invite through his servant Rahim Mir asking me to visit him over a cup of tea. I did not respond. Next day, Mir came again and repeated the invite. Then I visited him at his house at the Nedous Hotel Srinagar. He told me about his problem. I called for the settlement file of Tangmarg and found that the land was actually transferred in his name on the orders of the Maharaja himself. The entry read like: *Ba hukum-e- Maharaja Bahadur, falan zameen Henry Nedou ke naam indraj kiya jaave* (By the order of Maharaja Bhadur, so and so land be entered in the name of Henry Nedou). I obtained a copy of the revenue record and together we went to the Tehsildar at Gulmarg and got his state subject issued. This resulted in our friendship, which lasted till his demise in 1940.

I would daily visit him at 4.30 p.m. after my office to have tea with him. He would wait for me and if I could not visit him someday he would send his servant to my home saying that he was waiting for me. This friendship blossomed into a family bond where he would consult me in his family matters also. We would discuss politics, religion, Kashmir, everything. We also exchanged letters when I was at Jammu in connection with Darbar Move. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah twice delivered his letters to me at the Dak Bungalow where I was lodged as a Darbar Move employee. People were astounded to see a political leader of his stature coming to me to deliver a letter. Once Sheikh very curiously asked me what was transpiring between the two of us in those letters to which I mockingly replied: "These are love letters". The Government must have come to know that I was in correspondence with Nedou following which my mail was censored for several months. After Henry's death I remained a family friend of the Nedous for about 20 years and helped his wife in supervising accounts of her dairy farm at Gulmarg⁵⁰⁰, which I did in a spirit of friendship for many years with no monetary return. I would go there every Saturday evening and return on Monday morning to attend my office. Henry's son, Akram was my close friend.

Henry would consult me on all issues. Once, I got busy with my own affairs and could not visit him for some time. His wife, Rani, sent a word for me that she had always found her husband cheerful when I visited him and would I visit him again. Before his death in 1940, while he was on his way to Lahore for undergoing surgery, he asked his driver to drive to the Dak Bungalow and sent his servant to me saying he wanted to meet me. I came out and found him seated on the back seat looking very ill. As he departed, he told me in a gasping voice, "Please take care of my family and guide them through difficult times."

These proved to be the last words I heard from him. Later, Akram told me that before going into the operation theatre from where he did not come out alive, he gave a three point advice to him. The two related to their property at Gulmarg and a particular Gujjar⁵⁰¹ there. The third one was the counsel from a dying father to his son: "Always obtain guidance from Sidiq (Parray) Sahab."

Henry was one of the three siblings who had been invited by Maharaja Pratap Singh to facilitate accommodation for the British visitors at Gulmarg and Srinagar in the 19th century. They constructed hotels at the two places. Henry had the responsibility of procuring fresh milk from the Gujjars at Gulmarg where he came in contact with a Gujjar girl, Mir Jan and fell in love with her. He proposed to her which she declined for him being a non-Muslim. She put the condition of his conversion to Islam before he could take her hand in marriage. The lovelorn Henry converted to Islam, took Sheikh Ahmad Hussain as his Muslim name and married Rani. He turned a devout Muslim, offered prayers, spotted beard and gave charity. Rani once told me about the rich European's fascination for her and her insistence to convert first before she would accept his offer of marriage. She told me, "I made a king to bow before an ordinary girl." She made her husband to change his business objecting to his supplying pork and wine, abhorred by Muslims as *haraam*, to foreign visitors. He then took to sheep rearing and dairy and poultry farming.

Reaction to daughter's marriage

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Nedou did not share a cordial relationship. In fact, Henry did not like his son-in-law.⁵⁰² He disapproved of his collecting charity from people for his political activity and would use an uncharitable word 'Beggar's

Box' to describe him. He was not in favour of his daughter marrying him. Once I asked him if he was so unfavourably disposed towards Abdullah why did he marry his daughter to him. Henry replied that his daughter had made the choice herself. In fact, Akbar Jahan, Henry's daughter, had seen the Kashmiri leader and had fallen for the following he commanded from his people. She sent the proposal of marriage to the Sheikh through Haji Mohammad Wani of Dalgate and the *nikah* was performed at Gulmarg despite Henry being against it. When Henry died at Lahore, Abdullah took his wife there and dropped her at the residence of her father at Company Bagh and himself returned without going inside and offering condolence to the bereaved family. I was then down with malaria at Jammu and received the information of Henry's demise through a telegram. Few days later, Akram came to Jammu to take me to Lahore on the insistence of his mother. We visited Henry's grave and offered *fateha* there. Akbar Jahan was a good Muslim. She was previously married to T. E. Lawrence⁵⁰³ who was known as Lawrence of Arabia and called himself as Pir Karam Shah. However, Akbar Jahan soon found that he had not embraced Islam and was an imposter upon which she filed a suit in the Residency and obtained divorce.⁵⁰⁴ Those days, cases related to Englishmen were heard by the Residency.⁵⁰⁵

Marriage in jeopardy

Abdullah was from the beginning tilted towards Congress and Jawaharlal Nehru which ultimately resulted in the conversion of the Muslim Conference⁵⁰⁶ into the National Conference.⁵⁰⁷ At this point, there arose ideological differences between him and his wife who was a strong supporter of the Muslim Conference. Bitter arguments would take place between the two over this issue and ultimately one day Akbar Jahan left her husband and went to her parental house. I was with the Nedous and came to

know that Akbar Jahan was upstairs and had quarreled with her husband over the issue of dissolution of the Muslim Conference. She stayed put there for 15 days and after persuasion by her brother, Akram who pleaded with her that as a devout wife she had to follow her husband, she returned to him. Akram told her that if she did not go back her husband might divorce her and take another wife. Subsequently, she relented and Akram and I accompanied her to her husband's house. While Akram went inside the house with her I remained in the outer room. After this incident, she fell in line and followed her husband's political course.

Abdullah's sense of insecurity

It was middle of October 1947. I was at the Nedou's house with Akram when Sheikh Abdullah arrived there to collect his wife. Both Akram and I went out and saw them off. Rani urged them to be careful. She asked the driver to watch out and drive fast through the Jama Masjid area as the car had to pass through Nowhatta, the Muslim Conference stronghold, en route to Abdullah's house at Soura. Due to the unfolding events, Abdullah was nervous about the safety of his family and wanted to send them out of Kashmir to a relatively safe place. His brother-in-law, Ghulam Qadir was then working as the Private Secretary to the Maharaja Holkar at Indore where he eventually dispatched his family members.

Unlike with the Nedous, I did not have a close relationship with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's family. Many a time, I have seen him visiting his in-laws and stay at the first floor of the house. I have watched his son, Farooq Abdullah, since he was a kid. He would call me *Maam Laal*. When Abdullah was in jail, Pandit Nehru would take care of Farooq and often called him to his house. One day when he woke up in the morning he saw a

watch on his wrist which Nehru had gifted him. When Abdullah's eldest daughter, Khalida was married he asked Akram to go to her in-laws house as a witness for the *nikah* ceremony. Akram said he did not know what to do at the ceremony. Abdullah pointed towards me and told him you have your advisor with you. At the *wazwan* I was curiously looking at what they had cooked and if it was like what we do on marriage functions. I found while everything else was similar the rice was fried in butter. Mirza Afzal Beg spotted me and asked what I, a low level official in the revenue department, was doing there. I replied with ease, and to impress him, that I was a family friend.

Mosque on the hill

I must have climbed the *Takeht-i-Sulaiman* hill hundreds of times. I would take my cattle up the hill for grazing and invariably sit with the *pujari* of the temple with whom I would also puff *chillam*. I have seen a single room structure there which was said to have been a mosque in the olden times. Then it was not in use as a mosque. During rains I would take shelter inside the building. There were also some graves on the summit but I have no idea as to who were buried there.⁵⁰⁸ I guess the mosque and the graves must have come up during the Muslim rule in Kashmir. The *pujari* would go up the hill in the morning and climb down in the evening to retreat to his hut at Durga Nag. One day when he had not arrived at the temple I noticed there was some loose change there that had been offered to the temple. Seeing nobody around, I pocketed some coins.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

MEMORANDUM OF THE MUSLIMS OF KASHMIR SUBMITTED TO HIS MAJESTY INDER MAHINDER SIPAR-E-SULTANAT-E-ENGLISHIA MAHARAJ ADHIRAJ HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA BAHADUR, RULER OF JAMMU, KASHMIR WA TIBET HA, THROUGH MAULANA MUHAMMAD YUSUF SAHAB, MIRWAIZ KASHMIR

Your Highness,

No one, with proper understanding and intelligence, can be unaware of the phase through which the world is passing at present and of the changes that are rapidly taking place. That is the reason why wise rulers and their loyal ministers, side by side with the passing of arbitrary and tyrannous laws, constantly try to remove the difficulties and redress the grievances of their subjects so that they may not have to face the storm of the coming revolution and the consequent difficulties and anxieties and there may be no apprehension of any change coming about in the system of Government.

Nobody can be unaware of the fact that, when this storm comes – already gentle waves of it have reached India – winning of the hearts of people by dealing justice will prove more useful than arming a small

group. The world generally and the Indian Governments particularly are adopting far-sighted and wise measures, but to our misfortune, our Government has, at this critical time, issued orders whereby it is intended to spread Hindi and Devanagri in the name of Simple Urdu. These orders have given rise to certain suspicions in the minds of His Highness's loyal Muslim Subjects and a sort of restlessness is noticeable in them.

Apparently the orders that have been issued are to the effect that "Simple Hindustani, which in other words means Hindi language, should replace Urdu, which has so far been the medium of instruction in all Government Schools, and that books in "Simple Hindustani" printed in both Devanagri and Persian Scripts should be introduced in schools and pupils given the option of reading books in the script of their choice but that the teachers should make themselves familiar with both scripts so as to be able to impart instruction in both. It also appears from these orders that teachers who fail to attain proficiency in both scripts within one year will be dismissed from service.

These orders have created resentment among the Muslims which may result in trouble for both the subjects and the Administration. Besides, actions like this furnish enough grounds for defaming Your Highness and throwing doubts on Your Highness' good intentions.

Your Highness, I am, with all my heart, desirous of sparing my beloved land of further anxieties, distress or revolution and agitation, and it is this desire that impels me to place before Your Highness the following few submissions:

In 1846 AD when the Province of Kashmir came under the rule of Your Highness' noble ancestors, Persian was used for transacting Government business, for trade and for imparting instruction in schools in the State as in the rest of India and before that it had been in use for nearly seven centuries. Even after 1846, for nearly half a century the same arrangement continued without any change and it was legally admitted that Persian was the Court language of Kashmir Province and Urdu that of the Jammu Province. In the laws of the State there are circulars to this effect, for instance Circular No. 3 of S-1945 Bikrimi in Part I of Judicial Circulars.

Sir, this was the time when non-Muslims alone were the sole administrators of the State and almost all high offices were under the control of non-Muslim. This clearly shows that (1) the non-Muslim officials of the time had Persian and Urdu legally recognised as their languages, (2) nobody had even the slightest idea of the Hindi language or Devanagiri Script being the Court language, and that (3) there is a secret movement which has come into being within the last two or three years only, behind this demand of Hindi and Devanagiri made by certain young and inexperienced non-Muslims who are ignorant of the history of this country.

It may be asked, why Urdu replaced Persian and why no difficulty was felt and no objection raised when this change took place. Sir, the reason why no difficulty was felt in understanding, writing and reading Urdu was that the script and rules as regards punctuation, construction of sentences etc. , were common and the reason why no objection was raised by anyone was due to the fact that this new language was not attached to any particular class or religion. Likewise, Your Highness is fully aware from your very childhood, of the fact that there never was any movement in the State in favour of the Hindi language or Devanagiri Script, that no request for its introduction was made till the arrival of the present Prime Minister, that no voice was raised by anyone against Urdu or against the Persian Script, that no deficiency was found in it, that no deficiency was felt in teaching it, that no persuasion or scholarship etc. were needed for inducing people to read it, that no deficiency was felt in speaking, understanding and writing it, and that no community claimed it as its own language. There never has been felt any necessity for using persuasion or offering inducements by the grant of scholarships for its study. The exterminating of a language possessing such golden qualities, taking steps to replace it by an incomplete and unfamiliar language of a small section of the State forgotten even by them for the last 800 years, issuing *Sanads* in Your Highness' name in Hindi, embossing prices on stamps in Hindi, giving unfamiliar names to places, assemblies and individuals etc., in Hindi, making the learning of it obligatory for teachers, and providing facilities for its teaching and study in schools etc., - all this is nothing but an attempt to poison the peaceful atmosphere of this country.

The only reason that the enemies of this commonly understood and used language have for their contempt, animosity and jealousy of it are that most of its words are derived from Arabic, that it is written in Persian script, that both these languages have acquired special association with the Muslims and that besides the words of these two languages, certain Hindi and Sanskrit words have also become part of this language. Influenced by this jealousy and fanaticism, they forget the fact that Muslims constitute a predominant majority in the State, being 97% in one Province and more than 75% in the other. That being so, is not this predominant majority justified in interpreting this animosity towards a commonly understood language and the attempt to exterminate it as enmity towards Islam? I do not only hope but confidently believe that when Your Highness also will look into this matter from the same angle of vision, Your Highness will find it an ignoble blot on your sense of justice, which you will not bear to defile you.

Sir, such actions give rise to many suspicions and misunderstandings in the minds of the people, and it is one of the foremost duties of every enlightened ruler to ensure that no suspicions are engendered by any community as regards his intentions. Therefore, the sooner these orders and laws as create suspicions and misunderstandings are cancelled, the better it is for both the Ruler and the ruled. It is possible that in trying to convince Your Highness of the correctness of the action taken it is pointed out that in the Nizam's Dominions Urdu is patronized in the name of religion and that therefore it is necessary to abolish it in a State like Kashmir or that it is desirable to break the lingual and business connections of the Muslims of the State from the Muslims of the Punjab and so on. With regard to the aforesaid it will suffice to say that no sooner did Persian lose its place in India and Indian States - which happened hardly fifty years ago - than it was replaced by Urdu, and as against a foreign language, namely English, Hyderabad made an attempt to promote Urdu. As for creating a lingual split between the Muslims of Kashmir and of the Punjab, and other neighbouring countries, it is futile to think so, modern means of communication not only make it easy to establish contact with the Punjab but with other continents also.

Now, if it be stated that the object is to protect culture, the Muslim culture takes the first place on the basis of population, and if all the facilities and concessions which are being provided for Hindi and Devanagri Script are extended to Persian and Arabic also so as to promote the cause of Urdu, then we can understand that all that is being done is done only for the protection of culture. If this subtle and seemingly innocent change of language and script is prompted by the same Mahasabhaite, Gandhian and Nehruvian mentality which has not yet been given expression to but is nourished in the heart and which aims at the destruction of the national spirit of the Muslims and at creating insurmountable difficulties in the way of their literature, religion, invaluable treasure of culture, chivalrous deeds of their ancestors, old victories, exemplary civilization and their enviable and proud historical tradition passing down to future generations, - such an aim may suit those people, but it cannot suit a high minded and enlightened Ruler who has claimed to be just and whose Government depends almost entirely on Muslims. To give such condemnable advice to a Ruler of the kind just stated and to land his government into trouble is not loyalty.

Your Highness, it is a matter of shame that in the modern civilised and constitutional world a majority community has, like insignificant minorities, come to such a pass that it is compelled to seek protection for its national existence.

Your Highness, although the orders that have been issued are apparently directed to introduce Devanagri Script and Hindi the misleading name for which is "Simple Urdu" and to show that Urdu has not been abolished, yet people with understanding know the purpose for which the ground is being prepared, and we see today what is to happen tomorrow, which is (1) like the Director of Education, Muslim teachers will be given allowance for learning and teaching Hindi and Devanagri Script; (2) Muslim scholars who may - God forbid - express willingness to learn Hindi and Devanagri Script, will be given special scholarships; (3) in examinations such Muslim students will be deliberately - though undeservedly - given higher marks and prizes in order to induce Muslims in general (to take to

it); (4) persons knowing this language and script will be readily taken into Government Services; (5) knowledge of this language and script will be made obligatory for entrance to Government Service; (6) Hindi and Devanagri Script will be declared as the Court language; (7) for lightening the work of students, the study of Urdu will be made optional; and (8) in the long run, 15 or 16 years will be fixed as the period for attaining education and adding 3 or 4 years of boyhood to it, the age limit for service will be fixed at 20, so that Muslims, being engaged in earning their livelihood, will have no time to attend to their religious education. Of all this the Muslims are clearly conscious even now.

Some time ago, an Urdu newspaper published an extract from a speech of an Arya Samajist leader. The writer, while describing the manifold difficulties in converting Muslims, gave specific instructions for Hindus to follow in order to achieve success in this direction in the future. I still remember some of the instructions which he laid down for Hindu Rulers of States. They are:

- (1) To reduce steadily the study of Arabic, Persian and Urdu in Indian States till they are completely abolished;
- (2) to make arrangements and provide facilities for promoting Hindi and Devanagri Script;
- (3) to allot Sanskrit names to places, buildings, associations, individuals etc.;
- (4) to confer Hindi titles and to issue *Sanads* in Hindi, etc. etc.

Sir, you can very well imagine what we feel when Islamabad is changed into Anantnag, Hindi names are allotted to Palaces, Aga Syed Hussain and General Samandar Khan etc. are made 'Thakur Hussain' and 'Thakur Samandar Khan', the legislative body is called 'Prajā Sabha' and its member 'Sad', and all possible efforts are being made to popularise Hindi and Devanagri Script.

We feel it as our duty to state that the Muslims are more strongly attached to their religion than any other community. No Mussalman is in any way prepared to tolerate any secret or open, direct or indirect, big or small, conspiracy against his religion, though outwardly he may

himself be indifferent to religious matters; on such occasions religion compels and directs him to dedicate his life and property.

It is a matter for surprise that the Government without any request from the public established an Education Committee. Its members were a Muslim, a Hindu and an Englishman. Just as the Indian National Congress has cleverly made Maulana Abul Kalam Azad its President in name only, in the same clever manner, throwing dust in the eyes of Musalmans, a Musalman was made the Chairman of the committee and in name only – a Muslim who is a follower of Gandhi, and the author of the world infamous "Wardha Scheme", the scheme which at one place gave birth to Vidya Mandirs. By these manipulations, the Government was certain that like Wardha Scheme, Hindi and Devanagri Script will be accepted as a medium of instruction and that the scheme will not deal with religious teaching. But this wish was not fulfilled. Taking into consideration the local conditions the Committee unanimously recommended the continuation of Urdu in Persian Script as the medium of instruction in the following words:

The question of script has also been raised in this connection and some witnesses have suggested the adoption of a policy of two scripts, Persian and Devanagri, instead of the one now in vogue. We have given anxious thought to this problem also and individually discussed it, not only with educationists but with other public men of various communities, belonging to Jammu and Kashmir. Taking all the factors in consideration, we are definitely of opinion that any measure which tends to divide the people of this State into two water-tight groups, one conversant with the Devanagri script and the other with the Persian script is not only likely to be attended by many administrative and financial difficulties but will also prove a great hindrance in the evolution of a common nationhood and the enrichment of the Kashmiri language and literature. For, it would tend to estrange people acquainted with one script from the literary contributions made by people who use the other script and such a division will have the unfortunate effect of tending to divide the Hindus and Muslims into two groups and stand in the way of their fullest cultural intercourse which

is desirable from all points of view. But now that there is only one script in use in the State and a great majority of people are attached to it, the introduction of the controversy of a second script will be a distinct disservice to the cause of national solidarity.

But the person who has established this committee with a set purpose and hope could not hide his intentions for long and soon, taking undue and untimely advantage of his position and power, he thrust in Hindi miscalled "Simple Urdu" and Devanagri Script, the learning of which has for the present been declared compulsory for teachers only.

Perhaps these Ministers from outside avoid deliberately to bring to Your Highness' kind notice the fact that this educational scheme is a part of the revolutionary programme of the Congress, which has as its aim, on the one hand, the annihilation of the social, cultural, religious and national qualities of Muslims and on the other, the eradication of the English and other Indian forms of Governments and the establishment of a United Hindu Government. Thus the introduction of such a programme means to invite this dangerous revolution in the State.

If an honest person endowed with the sympathetic heart of Sir Albion Banerji were to look into the working of the present Government, he would have compared the people to "lance driven" instead of "lathi driven" cattle. A lathi blow falls on the back, but a lance pierces the chest; unbelievers are referred to the recently passed Arms Act. In those days things were done behind the back of Muslims, without asking them and taking their opinion; now there is a faked Assembly where, in the presence of elected representatives, most of the things are done. They cry themselves hoarse in making protests, and stage walkouts, but no heed is paid. In contrast to this, through a non-Muslim member, who is a representative of hardly 2% of the population, the question of Hindi and Devanagri is raised, and not receiving any support, soon buried. But the question is given such importance that, without presenting the report of the Education Committee to the Assembly, contrary to the unanimous recommendation of the authors - Muslims, Hindus, British - of the

Report, without any reference to the Education Minister – a Muslim in name only – taking no heed of consequences and making undue and inopportune use of power and position in a bigotted spirit, the unnecessary burden of Hindi and Devanagri is forced upon Muslims; and the person responsible for this feels no shame, but, turning a deaf ear to all protests, does not desist from proceeding on in his obstinate way. The results of proceeding on with this wholly unfair and obstinate policy are the following:

(1) To raise an impassable barrier in the way of Islam and Islamic Culture from passing down to the future generations of Muslims; (2) To create a feeling of hatred and enmity between communities who were for centuries living on the best of terms; (3) To destroy the national spirit and importance of Muslims by persuading their boys to follow Hindu mode of living, culture and civilization; (4) To push the Muslims to the background in education and thus leave the non-Muslims the unrivalled monopoly of Government Service, and similar other things.

The position of the Education Minister in this State – who like the tusks of an elephant which are for mere show is a Muslim in name only – is well known to all.

We have read some extracts from the statements issued from time to time by Congress and other Hindu leaders regarding the importance of language and script, and the autobiography of Mr. Nehru, "My Story", particularly page 295 of its Part I, and have in view what is being done here. It appears from these that nobody thinks of the good of Muslims and in order to prepare the coming generations for remaining ignorant of Islam and Islamic Culture, the present system of education is entrusted to a Wardhai Mussalman who, contrary to his conscience and recommendations, is carrying on this "noble" work, whose mouth is shut by giving him in addition to his pay a "bribe" of Rs. 300 per month, the other name of which is allowance, and who does not spare anything to bring this "good work" to a successful end. He has gone to this extent that teachers who till last year were designated as "Arabic teachers" have been for the present designated as "Urdu teachers". This is the first step towards transforming them into

Hindi teachers. The Minister responsible for watching the interests of Muslims knows all this, sees everything, hears the cries of the Muslims, but perhaps in fear of losing the Ministry, he does not open his lips.

Your Highness, If a Muslim peasant were to decline to pay the education cess on the ground that the type of education imparted to Muslims is not to their liking and endangers the religion of their future generations, the Government will answer with nothing but force, repression and tyranny. The persons responsible for enforcing the Wardha System of education here must keep in view that even those who have sold themselves to the Congress through the "Congress Mass Contact" have unusually opposed this scheme along with us from the very beginning, because being away from the influence of Wardha, Islam has taken the upper hand over Gandhi and Congress though it was their claim of being Congressites that, in the first instance, emboldened the opportunist Prime Minister to adopt this anti-Islamic policy.

Now we will throw light on this change of language and script from the religious and economic points of view:

(1) The 97% Muslim population of Kashmir has no religious belief in and attachment to the Hindi language and script;

(2) The 3% non-Muslims may have religious belief – though that even is doubtful – in the aforesaid script. The present Urdu script has originated from the Parsi script which in reality is the Aryan Script and in which Hindus should have religious belief. Thus if the order relating to Hindi script has been passed in order to satisfy the religious sentiment of 3% non-Muslim population, it should be applied to them only and this religious zeal should not be forced upon 97% Muslims who have no religious respect for it;

(3) If on religious grounds, Devanagri is made compulsory for 3% non-Muslim population, justice demands that Arabic script should be declared compulsory for 97% Muslims, because the State treasury is almost and entirely filled by the Muslims. The 3% non-Muslims having been shown this partiality on religious grounds, it is natural for 97% Muslims to claim a similar treatment;

(4) The entire population of the State, irrespective of religion, is so much ignorant of and unfamiliar with Devanagri that recently when, due to religious sentiment, the valuation of stamps was written in Devanagri script only, great difficulties were experienced by stamp vendors, petition writers and even by the officers of courts, both Muslims and non-Muslims. The difficulty and perplexity in which the public was put, is inexpressable. But the authorities, who passed this order as a result of religious enthusiasm and partiality, would naturally not feel any such difficulties otherwise this order would never have been passed. Recently, a deputation of the educational Inquiry Committee visited Kashmir. They have stated that the Hon'ble Prime Minister told them that the valuation on stamps was by chance written in Devanagri only, but that new stamps bearing valuation in both Urdu and Devanagri were being prepared and would be soon issued. If this is true, we submit that the writing of valuation in Urdu would be fulfilling a need, whereas writing it in Devanagri side by side with Urdu is unnecessary. This can therefore, only mean an improper and futile demonstration of religious partiality and sentiment. Or, the best purpose it can serve will be that it will please the Hon'ble Prime Minister's heart who, being ignorant of Urdu or Persian, knows only English or Bhasha. Or, it may be to please Gandhiji. But with all that, this procedure would not be correct because the present Prime Minister cannot continue for ever in this State, nor is there any law which lays down that a Madras Hindu will always be the Prime Minister here. Therefore, this is useless and far off from being correct. As a matter of fact, the Prime Minister should have been compelled to learn the common language of the State, and not that Government servants should be threatened with dismissal in order to compel them to learn, within a short time, a language and script which is dear and acceptable to the Hon'ble Prime Minister. There can be no greater tyranny in the world;

(5) The Muslims had started making progress in education since a short time only and that too was possible only because of Urdu, but if this thing be forced upon them, they will again go into the background. This order is therefore entirely against the Muslim interests and amounts to their ruin;

(6) The Devanagri script is an entirely new and unnecessary thing in this State. The Muslim subjects of the State can never look upon it with respect and therefore they can never make any progress in it. In other words, this order, in a veiled manner, cuts right across the progress of Muslims, because no man can apply himself to a matter for which he does not care and he can therefore never achieve any proficiency in it;

(7) Geographically, the State is a part of the Punjab. In the State both official and non-official matters are therefore greatly influenced by the laws and customs prevailing in the Punjab and the culture and mode of life of Punjabis. Nowhere in the Punjab has such an order been applied nor is there any possibility of such a thing happening. The issuing of this order and the introduction of such innovations amounts, to a certain extent, to opposing that Government under whose influence, constitutional and otherwise, this State has been continuing for centuries;

(8) In C. P.,* when the Congress workers out of their zeal, tried to forcibly and by law impose the Wardha Scheme and Devanagri on the Muslims, the latter raised a storm of protest and agitation against it, although, keeping local conditions in view, such a thing was necessary there. On the contrary, there is no such need here, nor will the Muslims of this place remain behind the Muslims of C. P. in starting agitation against this futile religious bias or the present Prime Minister's personal liking;

(9) The Indian Congress considers the Pakistan Scheme to be anti-national, so much so that it gets the scheme criticized by the Muslims under its control. The very fact that the Punjab separates the State from U. P.* and C. P. clearly shows that the State can never fall into line with U. P. and C. P. in spite of the attempt to introduce by force, repression and official tyranny, the Mahasabhai products of those places (such as Wardha Scheme and Devanagri) in the State. The result of the order in question, will, therefore, be increasing hatred of Devanagri in the subjects of the State, which will lead to the Pakistan Scheme winning the favour of the people, because they will consider this as their only liberator from their troubles. The Prime Minister's religious sentiment of helplessness on account of ignorance of Urdu and Persian will thus indirectly lend support to the opponents of

nationalism, which, according to the supporters of the Congress, will be extremely dangerous for the country. It follows therefore that the Prime Minister is not rendering any service by passing this order and doing similar other things, but, out of religious sentiment, he is cutting the very roots of the national movement, which is a national offence in the eyes of patriots.;

(10) According to political and administrative considerations and justice the reason for the promulgation of a new order or law is (i) the interests, needs or easements of the subjects; or (ii) the interests or needs of the Government which does not conflict in any manner and at anytime with the interests of the subjects; or (iii) a common need of both the Government and the subjects. Not one of these is present in this change of language and script; on the contrary it contains more than enough potentiality for mutual hatred and discord. Besides, there is no particular religious need or obligation. Here the Muslims either make their own arrangements, according to their capacities, for religious education or make use of the arrangements for Arabic and Persian existing in colleges and schools. Such arrangement – in fact in a better form – already exist for Hindi language and script also. Orders of this nature can therefore be nothing but exhibitions of religious fanaticism, and such sentiments are not only unbecoming, but also condemnable and contemptible for a person holding the responsible position of Prime Minister in a State populated by Muslims;

(11) However, if our kind Prime Minister, who has come from a far off place with his religious fervour to make us the victim of his experiments, had sympathy with the subjects of the State, he would have compelled all officers to learn Kashmiri in addition to Urdu so that there may be no danger of any mistakes, omissions, alterations etc., occurring in statements which people make before the Police, the Courts and in offices and the necessity of Jamadars, peons and clerks acting as interpreters would be obviated;

(12) As the proposal has not been accepted by the Assembly, it is against Constitutional Law to enforce it by means of an order;

(13) The promulgation of this order has spread great restlessness in the Muslims and created misunderstandings. The proper course for all constitutional and democratic governments is to withdraw such orders so that there may be no possibility of an agitation by the public;

otherwise it may be said that some brain, influenced by fanaticism, is working to create trouble in the State so that he may fulfill his heart's desire of beating with lathis and imprisoning loyal Muslim subjects of Your Highness. This would not be administration but animosity;

(14) Our common dialect is Kashmiri and common language Persian. Arabic is the religious language of the Muslim subjects. For this reason every Kashmiri has to learn in school Urdu, Persian and English and Muslim students have in addition to learn Arabic also for the study of their religious books. For a Punjabi or U. P. student, it is necessary to learn one language only, viz. English, in addition to his mother tongue, which in both cases is Urdu. Persian has greater importance in Kashmir than in any other part of the country. The above shows that as a matter of course a Kashmiri student is already under a heavy burden. It will be sheer injustice and cruelty if another load in the shape of Devanagri is put on him merely because of religious sentiment. If this is done a Kashmiri student will have to learn three languages in addition to English (Persian according to custom, Urdu and Devanagri according to law) and a Muslim student will have to learn four additional languages (Persian according to custom, Urdu and Devanagri according to law and Arabic according to religion). Are the poor and ill educated subjects of a backward country like Kashmir, who in the matter of education are already bent under a greater load than the people of the Punjab and U.P., fit to be still further loaded without any necessity but only for the personal and religious zeal of the Prime Minister? A Kashmiri student being already burdened with the task of three languages, and a Kashmiri Muslim with the task of learning four languages, how can he do justice to other subjects such as geography, history, science, mathematics etc.? It has thus been proved that, in the present circumstances, the passing of the order in question is not only an act of tyranny on the subjects of Kashmir, but also a dangerous and difficult obstacle in their way of educational advancement. There can be no greater injustice than this;

(15) It has been established in the foregoing paragraph that the order in question adds an unnecessary burden to the Kashmiri public. The result of this will be that a Kashmiri student will require longer time to finish his education and thus he will take more time than a Punjabi or U. P. student to make himself fit for earning his livelihood. Muslim students will have to devote greater time than non-Muslims.

This extension in time for the sake of Devanagri is unnecessary. The insistence on learning Devanagri will make the economic condition of students bad which will effect the poor downtrodden people of this place and particularly Muslim students will be gravely hit. It is painful and regrettable that the Prime Minister who gets his high salary and enjoys his life because of the toil of the poor subjects, especially poor Muslim subjects, should be so disloyal as to worsen their economic position;

(16) The Wardha Scheme was formulated as a result of the Mahasabhaite mentality of the Congress. The Kashmir Government has, for reasons unknown, accepted it and enforced it. The basic idea in the Wardha Scheme is the elimination of unnecessary subjects of study and the introduction of arts and crafts. It is surprising that, on the one hand, the Government is mad, after the Wardha Scheme and, on the other, it is opposing its real object and aim and adding an unnecessary, meaningless, unreasonable and useless burden on the students;

(17) Kashmiris are either agriculturists or artisans. Education here should be in accordance with the new researches made into industrial and agricultural matters; the energy and time of the people should not be wasted on learning unfamiliar and useless languages;

(18) In the present days, communalism is looked down upon by patriots. There is no doubt that the order in question is based on communalism. That being so, it deserves to be condemned and withdrawn so that the country may be saved from the scourge of communalism.;

(19) In U.P. etc., the Congress did propaganda in favour of Devanagri because of its being the language of the people, and if we want to copy U. P. and C. P. then Kashmiri should be enforced here, and not Devanagri, which has the same position here as English has in U. P. etc.;

(20) The conditions prevailing in Kashmir and its past traditions and culture are such that it is certain that a useless and unfamiliar script like Devanagri cannot easily and quickly be acceptable. Leaving out of consideration the religious sentiment of the Hindus, the Muslims and non-Muslim communities can never fully appreciate this and the public, particularly Muslims, will in no circumstances find it acceptable,

though on account of the obstinacy and repression of the Prime Minister, Government servants will, in view of the needs of the time, learn it. But if the general public is associated with this script, it will give rise to a new difficulty.

If any officer, on his own or in pursuance of any Government order, learns the Devanagiri Script and writes down a statement made in Kashmiri, the accuracy of that statement will be subject to doubts because the statement will be translated into Urdu from Kashmiri and written in Devanagiri, of both which the person making the statement will be ignorant and he will not therefore be able to judge whether his statement has been correctly recorded.

Last Prayer:

Your Highness, This matter requires calm and unbiased consideration. Therefore, our most humble and respectful request is that Your Highness may, out of generosity, farsightedness and justice, order the cancellation of these orders which create suspicions and anxiety and thus win the hearts of your loyal Muslim subjects. If, in this petition, Your Highness considers anything not properly expressed or expressed in a manner not suited to Your Highness' dignity, it is due to lack of knowledge and we request that Your Highness may out of your large-heartedness, and royal generosity and justice forgive it.

With prayers for Your Highness' prosperity,

Your most loyal subject,

Sd.

Muhammad Yusuf

Mirwaiz Kashmir.

* C. P. and U. P. stand for the Central Provinces and the United Provinces under British India.

APPENDIX II

LETTER OF MIRWAIZ KASHMIR, MAULANA MUHAMMAD YUSUF TO THE PRIME MINISTER, GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR, SENT WITH THE MEMORANDUM ADDRESSED TO MAHARAJA HARI SINGH ON LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT CONTROVERSY*

Official Seal of the Mirwaiz M. Muhammad Usuf

Mir Waiz

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

Mr. Prime Minister Sir,

Greetings.

During our previous meeting regarding the change in language and script, this well wisher of His Highness' Government had a fleeting discussion with you wherein it was decided that the objections of the Muslims of Kashmir to these orders should be presented in the form of a memorandum.

Hence, in sending the enclosed submissions to you, I hope that you will kindly submit these to His Highness and oblige the Muslims of Kashmir, as well as provide me an occasion of thanking you. I am sorry that there has been more delay than expected in submitting the memorandum which was due to my preoccupation with different public meetings and Islamic ceremonies here. Moreover, the wedding season here this time was busier than usual.

It would not be out of place to mention that after my discussion with you the fury and restlessness among the people was controlled by an assurance given to them that while sympathizing with the wishes, feelings and sentiments of the Muslim population here you are ready to also respect those. Accordingly, in view of the fury in the people I have not given any sermon since that day. It is expected that you will oblige with a suitable response at your earliest convenience so that during the course of my Eid-ul-Adha sermon I am able to give people the good news about cancellation of these anxiety causing orders.

With great respect.

Well wisher,

Sd.

Muhammad Yusuf

Mir Waiz

*The letter is marked January 6, 1941.

APPENDIX III

REPORT OF THE HIGH LEVEL COMMITTEE CONSTITUTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF JAMMU & KASHMIR VIDE GOVERNMENT ORDER NO. 577-GAD OF 2013 DATED 05-04- 2013 FOR THE PROMOTION OF URDU LANGUAGE IN THE STATE

Government of Jammu & Kashmir
Civil Secretariat: Tourism & Culture Department
Srinagar/Jammu

Report of the High Level Committee for Promotion of the Official
Language of the State

Srinagar

Dated : 4th October 2013

1. Background

Section 145 of the Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir deals with the Official Language of the State. The said Section reads as under:

The Official Language shall be Urdu but the English Language shall, unless the Legislature by Law provides, continue to be used for all the official purposes of the State for which it was to be used immediately before the commencement of the Constitution.

During [the] 18th Budget Session 2013, CQ No. 477 was tabled by Sh. Devinder Singh Rana, Hon'ble MLC, in the Legislative Council regarding shortage of Urdu teachers in Government Schools. Subsequent discussions on [the] CQ were held on 26th March 2013

in the Legislative Council. The Hon'ble Chairman directed the Government to constitute a High Level Committee headed by [the] Chief Secretary, Jammu & Kashmir to look into the following issues and submit report to the Government:

- i. Promotion of [the] Official Language of the State i.e. Urdu;
- ii. Ways and means of overcoming the shortage of Urdu, Dogri and Kashmiri language teachers in Government Schools particularly the possibility of appointing subject specific teachers by the Education Department, and
- iii. Setting-up of Urdu Academy at Jammu & Srinagar.

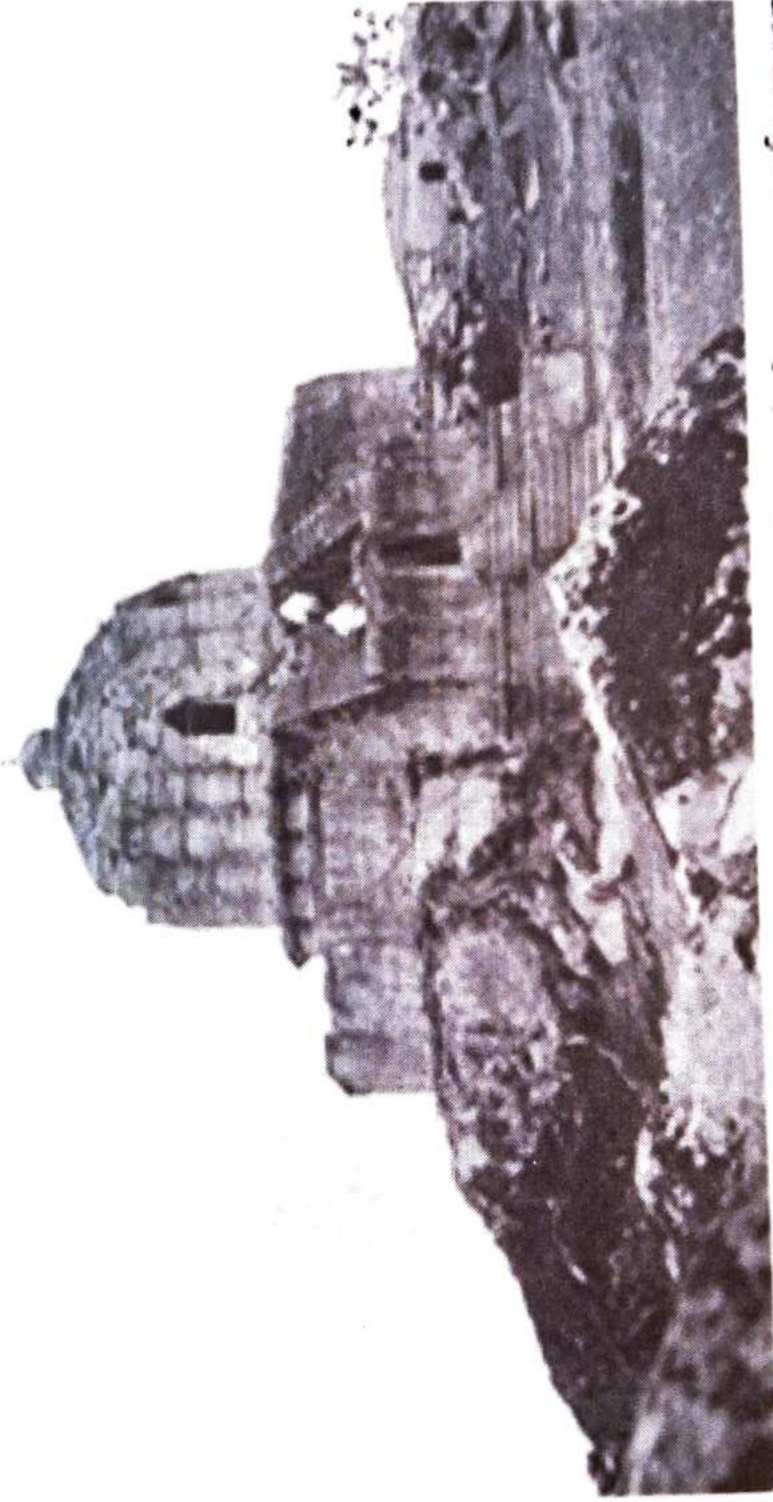
Vide Government Order No. 577-GAD of 2013 dated: 05-04-2013, a High Level Committee was constituted with the following composition:

- | | | |
|----|---|----------|
| 1. | Chief Secretary, J&K | Chairman |
| 2. | Administrative Secretary, Higher Education Department | Member |
| 3. | Administrative Secretary, Culture Department | Member |
| 4. | Administrative Secretary, School Education Department | Member |
| 5. | Director School Education, Jammu/Kashmir | Member |
| 6. | Secretary, J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages | Member |

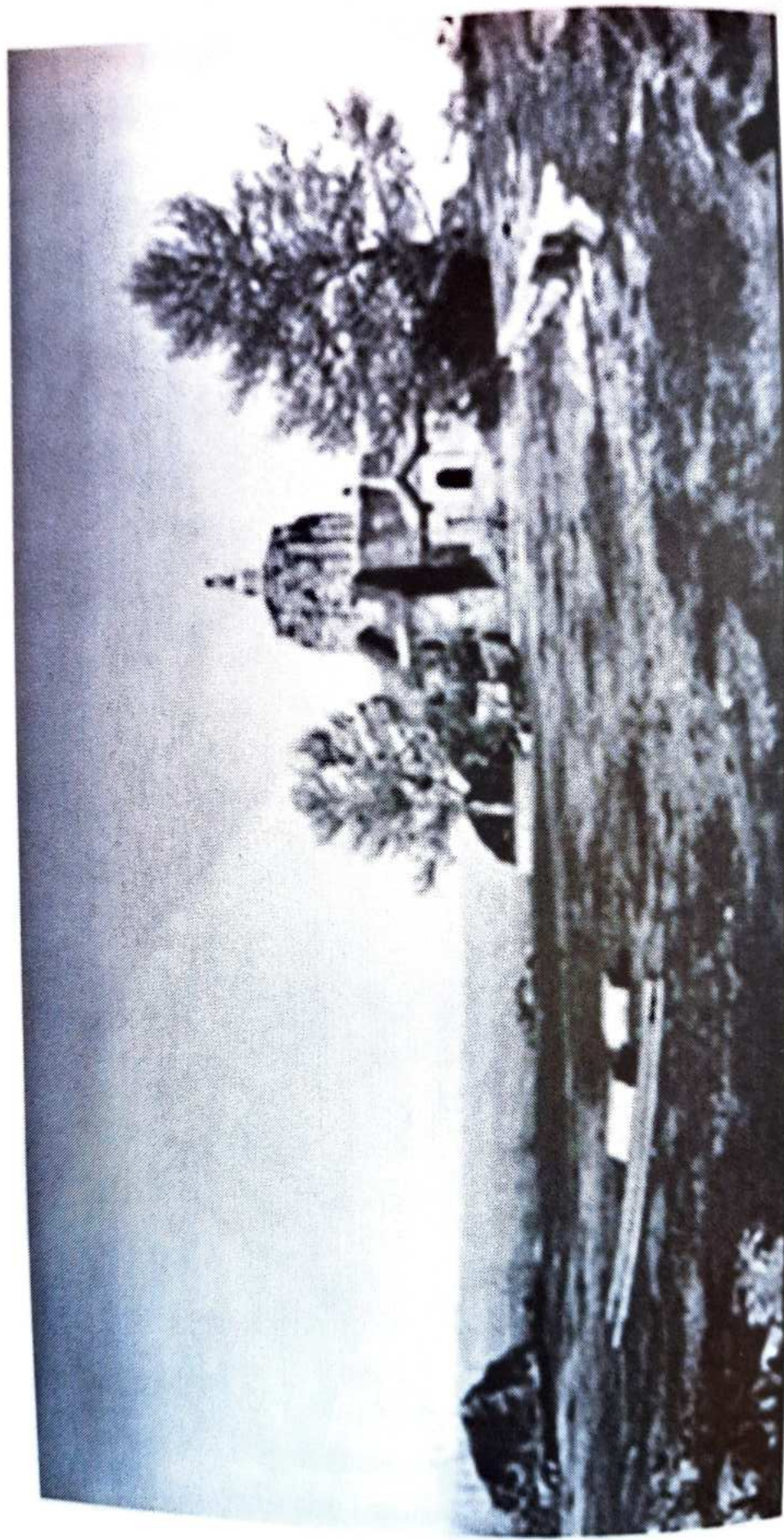
2. High Level Committee Meetings

The 1st meeting of the High Level Committee was held on 10th June 2013 under the Chairmanship of [the] Chief Secretary, J&K. The Committee held detailed deliberations on the subject and inputs given by various officers representing different departments concerned with promotion of Urdu language in the State. Keeping in view the mandate of the High Level Committee, the following decisions were taken:

- i. Secretary to Government, General Administration Department was co-opted as member of the Committee;
- ii. Commissioner/Secretary to Government, Tourism & Culture Department was asked to crystallize the



1911 AD photograph showing the now non-existent single-storied structure of a mosque, next to the ancient stone temple atop the Takht-i-Sulaiman or the Shankaracharya Hill.



A photograph subsequent to the 1911 AD capture showing the structure next to the ancient temple missing

ان کے لئے گھنٹہ گزرا

مشرقی شہر سویا اور نہادہ کی طرح کیا جاتا ہے۔ کہ چھری شہر سویا اور نہادہ
 تاریخ ۱۱/۸/۴۳ (۱۱/۸/۴۳) اور نہادہ میں ہوگا (۱۱/۸/۴۳) جس کے تحت ہم
 کے لئے ہر گھنٹہ نہادہ میں ہر گھنٹہ نہادہ میں ہر گھنٹہ نہادہ میں ہر گھنٹہ نہادہ میں
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وہیں ہر گھنٹہ نہادہ میں ہر گھنٹہ نہادہ میں ہر گھنٹہ نہادہ میں ہر گھنٹہ نہادہ میں
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The Amarnath Yatra schedule issued by the Governor of Kashmir in 1943 announcing the beginning of that year's pilgrimage on August 5 and termination on August 17 in a matter of 12 days.

63

AMARNATH YATRA 1960
(FOR THE YEAR 1960, INCLUDING 1961)

S. No.	Date	Day	Time	Place	Remarks
1.	24.7.60	Sunday	10th Dawn	Pratapgarh 8 AM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 1st part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
2.	25.7.60	Monday	10th Dawn	Pratapgarh 8 AM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 2nd part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
3.	26.7.60	Tuesday	11th Dawn	Pratapgarh 8 AM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 3rd part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
4.	27.7.60	Wednesday	12th "	4 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 4th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
5.	28.7.60	Thursday	12th "	6 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 5th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
6.	29.7.60	Friday	12th Dawn	6 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 6th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
7.	30.7.60	Saturday	12th "	7 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 7th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
8.	31.7.60	Sunday	12th "	8 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 8th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
9.	1.8.60	Monday	12th "	9 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 9th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
10.	2.8.60	Tuesday	12th "	10 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 10th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
11.	3.8.60	Wednesday	12th "	11 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 11th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
12.	4.8.60	Thursday	12th "	12 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 12th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
13.	5.8.60	Friday	12th "	1 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 13th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
14.	6.8.60	Saturday	12th "	2 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 14th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
15.	7.8.60	Sunday	12th "	3 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 15th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
16.	8.8.60	Monday	12th "	4 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 16th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.
17.	9.8.60	Tuesday	12th "	5 PM	Pratapgarh to Srinagar. The 17th part of the Yatra will be to Srinagar.

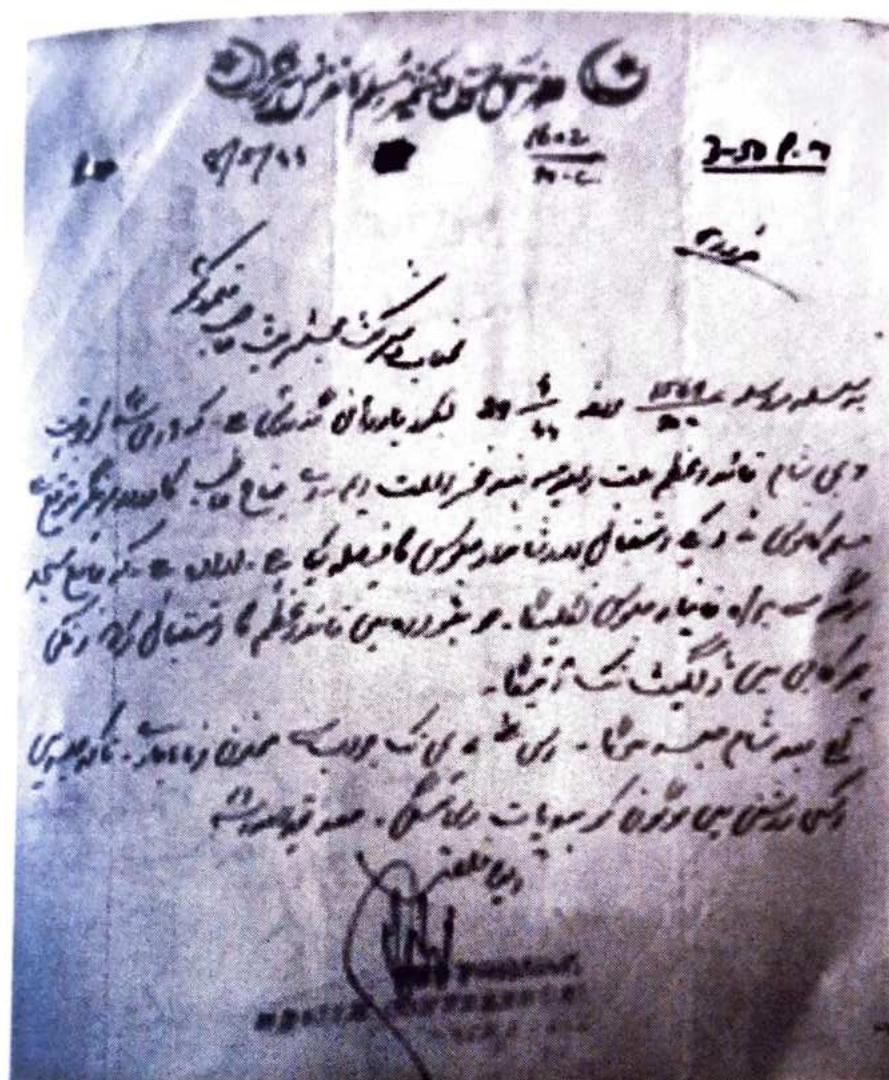
Sd/- Mahant Chhari Shri Swami Amarnath Ji
Amarnath Ji Dargah, Srinagar, Jammu & Kashmir

Copy to DGP for info and file.

Copy of DGP's order, No. 44444/1960 dated 1.7.1960 on the above copy to SO of Police Srinagar, Jammu & Kashmir for information.

1960 COPY

The schedule of the annual Amarnath Yatra in 1960 issued by the Mahant Chhari Shri Swami Amarnath Ji Akahra, Srinagar showing the culmination of the pilgrimage in a fortnight.



Applications made to the District Magistrate, Kashmir by the Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference and the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference seeking permission to hold separate public reception for Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1944.



Muhammad Ali Jinnah in a group photograph with Aligarh Muslim University Old Boys at Scinagar in 1944.

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER-IN-WAITING.

P-115
59.6.27
M1721

Jammu.

10th May 1927.

My Dear Mr: Wakefield,

The Pratap of the 11th May 1927 contains an article to the effect that Mr: Jinnah has gone to Kashmir for a period of six weeks. Will you kindly let me know, for the information of His Highness the Maharaja Sahadur, if this is a fact, and if so, why this was not reported by the Police.

Yours sincerely

Shunlax

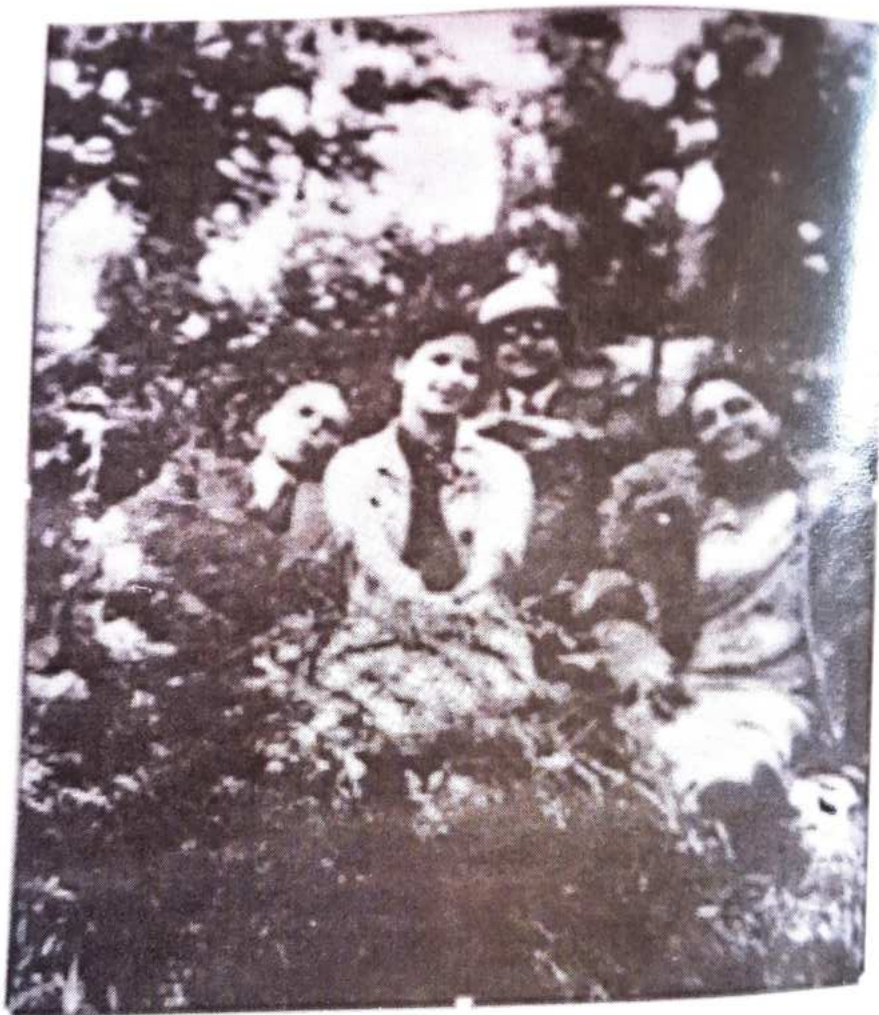
G.R.U. Wakefield, Esquire, C.B.E.

Police and Public Works Minister,

Jammu & Kashmir Government,

Jammu.

Minister-in-Waiting's letter pointing to Maharaja Hari Singh's unawareness about Mr. Jinnah's presence in Kashmir in 1927.



Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Kashmir with his daughter Dina and Nawabzada and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan.



Krishen Dev Sethi



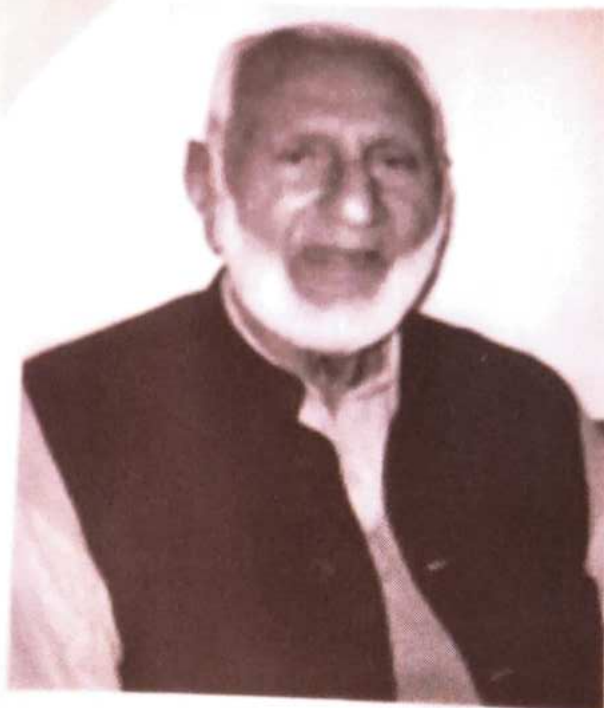
Professor Abdul Aziz Bhat



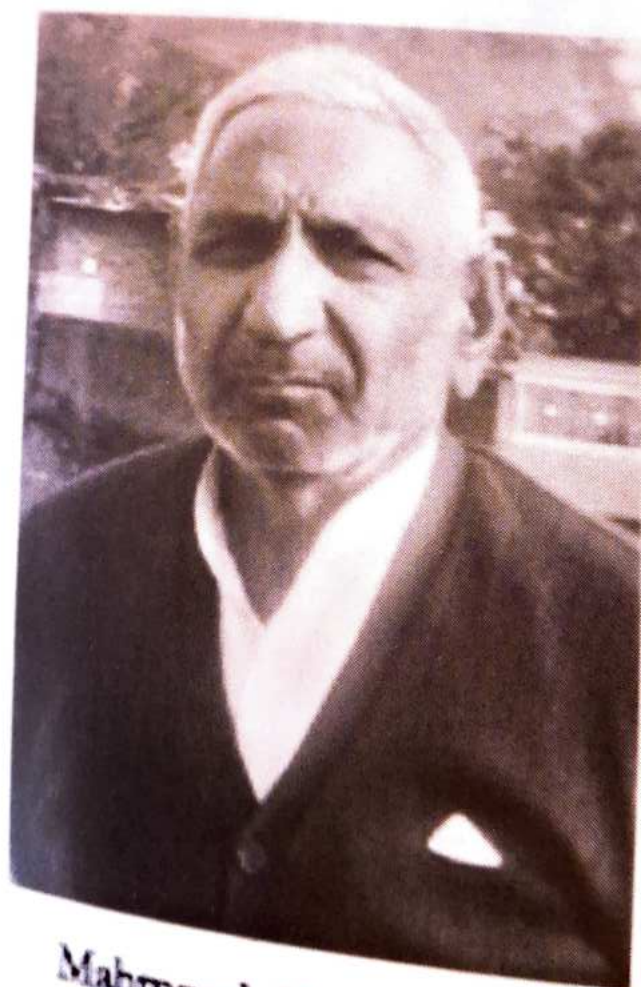
Ved Bhasin



Wazira Begum



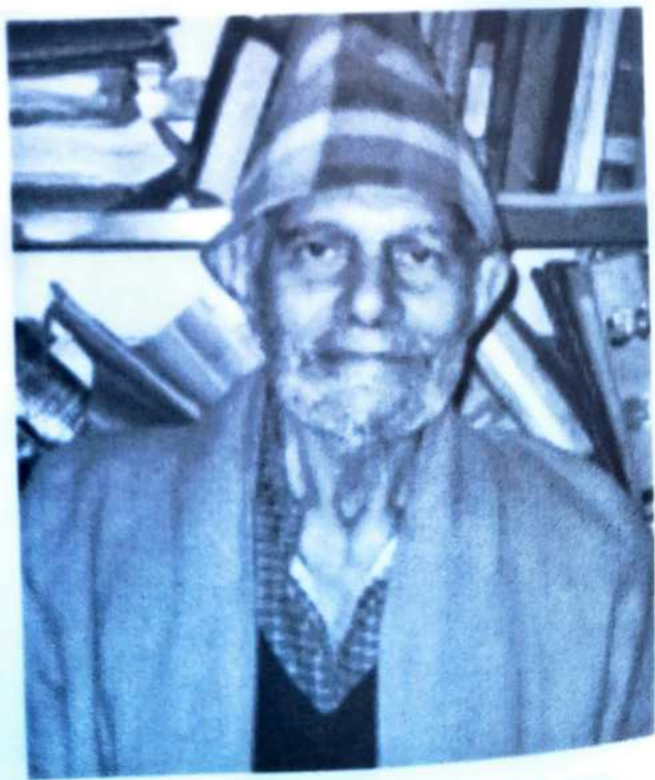
Chowdhary Fatch Muhammad



Mahmood Ahmad Khan



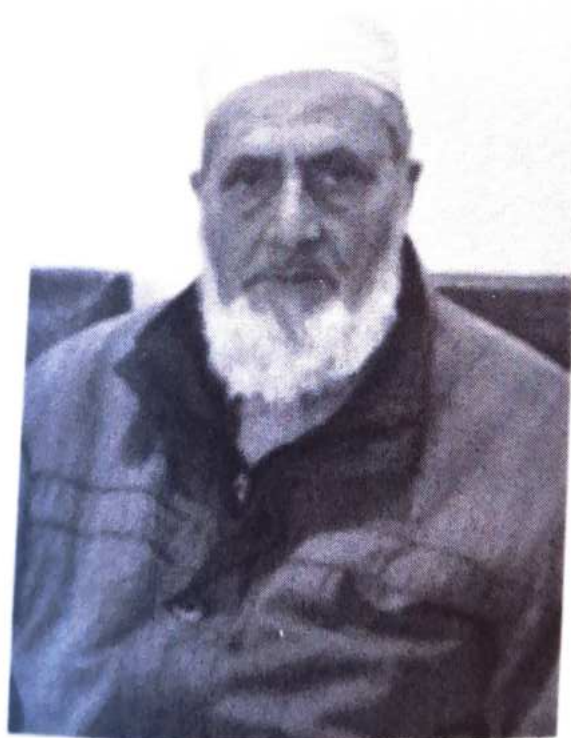
Balraj Puri



Shabir Ahmad Salahria



Jamal-ud-Din



Khawaja Abdur Rauf



Centurion Muhammad Sidiq Parry making a point during an interview with the author

FATE OF KASHMIR

[THE PEOPLE OF THE COMPONENT DISTRICTS]

ELIMINATIONS OF MUSLIMS FROM JAMMU
From a Special Correspondent

Jhelum and in the West Punjab. They speak similar Punjabi dialects, depend on them for food, and supply them with timber and the products of their flocks and herds. Above all, they have to export their man-power. During the war nearly 60,000 Poonchis and other Muslims from these hills joined the Indian Army, and thousands more have always sought employment away from home. With the partition of the army and the Punjab on communal lines, all these Muslims naturally found themselves on the Pakistan side. Their homeland is geographically part of Pakistan.

These districts are ill-served by roads. As the State neglected all communication except those of its summer and winter capitals, Srinagar and Jammu, a proper plebiscite in the difficult hills of Jammu Province would be impossible to arrange or supervise, since these areas depend largely, as the trans-Himalayan frontier regions do entirely, on slow animal transport and travel. But in spite of poor country tracks to the Punjab and inadequate ferries across the Jhelum, all the economic ties of these western districts were with what is now Pakistan. Links with Jammu and Kashmir were almost

Muslim and Buddhist Ladakh, or a culturally justified cession of Buddhist Ladakh to Tibet, would be disastrous to local prosperity and to this central Asian trade.

Last of the State's six parts, the eastern half of Jammu Province comprising the Jammu, Udhampur, and eastern Riasi districts of the Chenab valley and Kathua district on the Ravi, alone has a useful common border with India, giving easy access along about 30 miles round Kathua, as well as a longer unnatural boundary with Pakistan, cutting across the Punjab plain. In 1941 this large area of hills with a small strip of Punjab plain was inhabited by 619,000 non-Muslims (including 10,000 Sikhs and 305,000 martial Dogra Rajputs and Brahmins), and 411,000 Muslims (mainly Kashmiri-speakers, Muslim Rajputs, backward Gujar herdsmen, and Punjabis). Forming 40 per cent. of the population of this whole area, to the east of the Chenab Muslims were in a majority in the Kishtwar areas and nearly attained parity in Bhadrachal. In the remaining Dogra areas the 237,000 Muslims were systematically exterminated—unless they escaped to Pakistan along the border—by all the forces of the Dogra State, headed by the Maharaja in person and aided by Hindus and Sikhs. This happened in October, 1947, five days before the first Pathan invasion and nine days before the Maharaja's accession to India.

LINE OF PARTITION
This elimination of two-thirds of the Muslims last autumn has entirely changed the

A clipping of the Times London dated 10 August 1948.

Cennat Muhammad Sidiq Paray making a book

An agreement has been reached between the representatives of the National Conference and the Muslim Conference to the following effect in connection with the reception of Mr. M.A. Jinnah on 10th May 1944, at about 6 P.M. in Srinagar:-

1. National Conference party will hold a reception in the Pratap Park where Mr. Jinnah would be conducted direct by their representatives from Pampore to welcome him.
2. Muslim Conference representatives will conduct Mr. Jinnah from Pratap Park to the Golf course bridge where their party will wait for his arrival.
3. Muslim Conference party will then take Mr. Jinnah in a procession from Golf Course bridge to the Gagribal point.
4. It is clearly understood that the procession shall disperse before sunset.
5. In consideration of this agreement the National Conference party has agreed not to take out a procession on this day.

G. B. Lal
President, Muslim Conference

M. A. Jinnah
on behalf of Muslim Conference.
9.5.44.

Copy to Chief Secretary to Government (P.W.D.)

for information.

W. B. S.
10/5/44

Signed copy of the agreement reached between the Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference and the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference on holding separate receptions for Muhammad Ali.

issue regarding promotion of the Official Language (Urdu) and report;

- iii. A Sub-committee was constituted to find out the ways and means of overcoming the shortage of Urdu, Dogri and Kashmir language teachers in Government schools at primary, middle and high school level, particularly the possibility of appointing subject specific teachers, and also work out the additional requirement of subject specific teachers with financial implication. The Committee was to be headed by [the] Secretary to Government, Education Department with Director School Education, Kashmir and Jammu as its members.
- iv. Constitution of another Sub-committee was approved to examine the requirement of setting-up of [an] Urdu Academy at Jammu/Srinagar in the light of proposals moved by [the] Higher Education Department and the activities already being performed by the J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages for promotion of Urdu language in the State of Jammu & Kashmir. The Committee was to be headed by Commissioner/Secretary to Government, Tourism & Culture Department with Secretary, J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages and Special Secretary, Higher Education Department as its members.

The High Level Committee held subsequent meetings on 24-7-2013 and 3-9-2013.

3. Recommendations

The Sub-committees submitted their reports to the Chief Secretary, J&K on 10-07-2013, 16-07-2013 & 05-09-2013 respectively which were thoroughly deliberated upon by the High Level Committee. Accordingly, the following recommendations are made for consideration of the Government:

(A) Promotion of Urdu Language

For promotion of Urdu language, it is felt necessary that

Recruitment Rules for direct entry posts in the departments of Revenue, Home, Law, Judiciary etc need modifications to ensure that direct entrants into these services possess adequate knowledge of Urdu. Accordingly, the following amendments in the existing Recruitment Rules of the above Departments/Services are proposed:

S.No.	Department	Post	Existing Rules	Proposed Amendments
1.	Junior Scale KAS	Under Secretaries/ Tehsildars etc.	Urdu as one of the papers in the Departmental examination conducted by the Public Service Commission with following syllabus : Urdu language test of Matriculation standard to test the knowledge of the language. Short essay writing Letter writing Translation from Urdu to English Idioms and phrases Urdu Grammar	No change proposed
2.	Law, Justice & Parliamentary Affairs (Gazetted)	Assistant Legal Remembrancer/ Assistant Director Litigation/ Public Law Officer/ Chief Reporter (for direct recruitment)	Knowledge of Urdu is not required	Test of Urdu on the pattern of examination for Jr. Scale KAS

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dments
3. Law, Justice & Parliamentary Affairs (Non-Gazetted) Legal Assistant/ Legislation Assistant/ Legal Affairs Assistant/ Legal Assistant Codification/ Jr. Legal Assistant/Jr. Legislative Assistant Knowledge of Urdu is not required Test of Urdu on the pattern of examination for Jr. Scale KAS
4. Revenue Naib Tehsildar/ Assistant Revenue Authority/Reader to F.C./Div. Commissioner/P. A. to (NT) to D.C./ Instructor Naib Tehsildar Graduate with knowledge of Urdu A written test in Urdu Language to be introduced in selection process which would be mandatory to pass.
5. Revenue Patwari including Office Patwari/ Consultation Patwari/Settlement Patwari Graduate with knowledge of Urdu A written test in Urdu Language to be introduced in selection process which would be mandatory to pass.
6. Home Dy. S. P. (for direct recruits) Knowledge of Urdu is not required Test of Urdu language after selection on the pattern of Jr. KAS for which syllabus shall be decided by the Home Department.
- No change proposed
- Test of Urdu on the pattern of examination for Jr. Scale KAS

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| 7. | Home | Constable/
Sub. Inspector/
Inspector | Knowledge of Urdu
is not required | Test of Urdu
language after
selection on
the pattern
of Jr. KAS
for which
syllabus shall
be decided
by the Home
Department. |
| 8. | Judiciary | For direct entry
posts in Gazetted
cadre | Knowledge of Urdu
is not required | Test of Urdu
language on
the pattern of
Jr. Scale KAS. |

B) Shortage of Urdu, Dogri & Kashmiri language teachers in Government schools and appointing of subject specific teachers by the Education Department

The Sub-Committee constituted under the Chairmanship of the Secretary to Government, School Education Department to find out ways and means of overcoming the shortage of Urdu, Dogri & Kashmiri language teachers in Government schools at primary, middle and high school level, particularly the possibility of appointing subject specific teachers and also workout the additional requirement of subject specific teachers with financial implication has submitted its findings as under:

i. Requirement of district-wise language specific teachers in Government Primary, Middle and High Schools in School Education Department:

District	Urdu	Dogri	Kashmiri	Total
Srinagar	317	0	212	529
Ganderbal	350	0	233	583
Budgam	761	0	508	1269
Anantnag	902	0	602	1504
Pulwama	526	0	351	877
Shopian	313	0	208	521
Kulgam	464	0	309	773
Bandipora	787	0	324	811
Baramulla	1208	0	805	2013
Kupwara	1107	0	738	1845
Leh	213	0	142	355
Kargil	329	0	219	548
Jammu	800	747	0	1547
Samba	300	213	0	513
Kathua	743	657	22	1422
Udhampur	850	563	0	1413
Kishtwar	640	54	109	803
Reasi	685	246	194	1125
Ramban	480	51	255	786

Doda	765	135	370	1270
Poonch	1390	60	40	1490
Rajouri	1264	350	103	1717
Total	14894	3076	5744	23714

ii. Existing General Line Teacher posts in Government schools which can be converted into language teaching posts:

District	Urdu	Dogri	Kashmiri	Total
Srinagar	108	0	105	213
Ganderbal	152	0	164	316
Budgam	466	0	269	735
Anantnag	416	0	330	746
Pulwama	200	0	229	429
Shopian	156	0	151	307
Kulgam	187	0	179	366
Bandipora	241	0	188	429
Baramulla	626	0	517	1143
Kupwara	645	0	413	1058
Leh	182	0	0	182
Kargil	218	0	0	218
Jammu	240	300	0	540
Samba	120	90	0	210
Kathua	443	457	0	900
Udhampur	350	213	0	563
Kishtwar	334	5	20	359
Reasi	284	134	44	462
Ramban	310	5	109	424
Doda	340	22	157	519
Poonch	1100	20	5	1125
Rajouri	1013	55	20	1088
Total	8131	1301	2900	12332

iii. District-wise requirement of additional posts of language specific teachers to be created:

District	Urdu	Dogri	Kashmiri	Total
Srinagar	209	0	107	316
Ganderbal	198	0	69	267
Budgam	295	0	239	534
Anantnag	486	0	272	758
Pulwama	326	0	122	488
Shopian	157	0	57	214
Kulgam	277	0	130	407
Bandipora	246	0	136	382
Baramulla	582	0	288	870
Kupwara	462	0	325	787
Leh	31	0	142	173
Kargil	111	0	219	330
Jammu	560	447	0	1007
Samba	180	123	0	303
Kathua	300	200	22	522
Udhampur	500	350	0	850
Kishtwar	306	49	89	444
Reasi	401	112	150	663
Ramban	170	46	146	362
Doda	425	113	213	751
Poonch	290	40	35	365
Rajpuri	251	295	83	629
Total	6763	1775	2844	11382

Proposals

i) The Recruitment Rules of teachers in School Education Department need to be changed and separate cadre of language

specific teachers established with the following academic qualification and method of recruitment:

S. No.	Designation	Requisite Qualification	Method of Recruitment
1.	Teacher Primary(Language)	a) Primary: i) 10+2 with Urdu/ Dogri/ Kashmiri as one of the subjectsii) Diploma in ETT/El.Ed. (by whatever name known). Preference will be given to the candidates having higher qualification and professional degree viz. B.Ed/B.El.Ed (by whatever name known/M.Ed	75% by direct recruitment and 25% by promotion from Class-IV category 'B' who possess 10+2 and have passed Diploma in El. Ed./ETT (by whatever name known). In case of non-availability of eligible candidates, the vacancies thus left unfilled (by reference to 1st January each year) shall be referred for Direct Recruitment.

Qualification

Method of
Recruitment

by direct
recruitment and
promotion
Class-IV
category 'B' who
possess 10+2
have passed
examination in El.
Education (by
whatever name
known). In case of
non-availability of
eligible candidates,
the vacancies thus
left unfilled (by
reference to 1st
January each year)
shall be referred for
Direct Recruitment.

2. Subject Teacher
(Language)

- a) Upper Primary:
i) B.A. with Urdu/
Dogri/Hindi/
Kashmiri as one of the
subjects with B.Ed/B.
El.Ed (by whatever
name known).

75% by direct
recruitment and
25% by promotion
from Class IV
category 'B' who
possess B.A. as
per qualification in
particular subject
with B.Ed./B. El.Ed.
(by whatever name
known). In case
non-availability of
eligible candidates,
the vacancies thus
left unfilled (by
reference to 1st
January each year)
shall be referred for
Direct Recruitment.

(ii)

Financial implication for creation of 11382 posts
of language teacher as per New Recruitment Policy
in vogue.

- Pay Band 5200-20200 + 2400 GP.
- Fixed salary of Rs. 4100 per month for 1st two
years.
- Fixed salary of Rs. 6000 per month during next
three years till regularization.
- Total financial implication involved annually
for first two years Rs. 112.00 crores.
- Total financial implication involved annually
for next three years Rs. 246.00 crores.

(iii)

Total requirement of language teachers (Urdu/
Dogri and Kashmiri) as worked out by School
Education Department is 23714 which include
12332 general line teachers presently available with
the department and 11382 posts of language teachers
to be created. To meet the overall requirement of

language teachers, it is recommended that 12332 existing general line teachers be converted into language teacher posts, which shall have no financial implication.

- (iv) After the creation of 11382 posts of language teachers, the posts be referred to SSB for recruitment of language teachers, having qualifications as per amended recruitment rules proposed above.
- (v) In future, to maintain overall consistency in the requirement of language teachers, any vacancy arising out of language specific teachers, be referred to SSB for recruitment of suitable candidate as per language teacher norms.

C) Setting up of Jammu & Kashmir Council for Promotion of Urdu

It was observed that J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages is actively working for promotion of various languages enshrined in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir including Urdu. For promotion of Urdu Language, the Academy undertakes various activities on regular basis, which include different Urdu publications, conducting of conferences, seminars and memorial lectures, poetic symposia, short story sessions, workshops and annual Urdu mushaira, subsidy to authors for publication of their books, Best Book Awards to promote quality literature, financial assistance to authors in indigent circumstances, State Writers Camps and conduct of three year course in calligraphy.

The Urdu Academies in other parts of the country viz., Urdu Academy Delhi, Bihar Urdu Academy, Uttar Pradesh Urdu Academy and West Bengal Urdu Academy are performing on similar lines for promotion of Urdu as pursued by J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages.

Obviously, the formation of the proposed Urdu Academy in Jammu & Kashmir State would be a parallel institution to replicate what an established organization (J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages) is doing since its inception in 1958 and would run at cross

purpose. Therefore, the establishment of "Jammu and Kashmir State Council for Promotion of Urdu" is recommended to achieve the desired results in the promotion of Official Language – Urdu.

1.Aims and Objectives of the proposed Jammu and Kashmir State Council for Promotion of Urdu

The proposed Council shall have the following aims and objectives:

- To promote and propagate Urdu language in Jammu & Kashmir.
- To advise the Government on connecting Urdu language with employment and its propagation through curriculum and other means.
- To take steps for making available in Urdu language knowledge of scientific and technology development.
- To liaise with the State Government and other agencies in matters relating to promotion of Urdu language.
- To undertake projects for promotion of Urdu language as the Council may deem fit.

2.Functions of the Council

The Council shall have the following functions:

- To take steps and suggest ways and means to the Government for promotion and propagation of Urdu language in the State.
- To coordinate activities undertaken by various institutions of the Government for promotion of Urdu language.
- To arrange for sale and exhibition of Urdu books in the State.
- To run vocational and skill based courses in Urdu calligraphy and computer.
- To advise and suggest the Government on Urdu curriculum for schools and colleges.
- To give scholarships to meritorious students in Urdu language.

- To institute an annual Urdu Award for propagation of the Official Language in J&K by any individual, institution or NGO.
- To provide financial assistance to small and medium Urdu newspapers/journals for promotion of Urdu journalism.
- To run orientation courses in Urdu language for non-Urdu speaking officials of the Government.
- To advise the Government on issues connected with Urdu language as may be referred to it.
- To undertake any other activity for the promotion of Urdu language as may be deemed fit by the Council.

3. Organizational Set-up

The Council is proposed to be an autonomous organization with Hon'ble Chief Minister as its Chairman having the following infrastructure:

a. Executive Board

- | | | |
|------|--|------------------|
| i. | Hon'ble Chief Minister | Chairman |
| ii. | Hon'ble Minister for Culture | Member |
| iii. | Administrative Secretary Culture Department | Member |
| iv. | Financial Advisor Culture Department | Member |
| v. | Director State Council for Promotion of Urdu | Member Secretary |
| vi. | Five Members of proven literary caliber, including few from outside J&K. | |

b. Administration

In the first phase the Council shall have the following administrative and technical staff which may be further enhanced as per requirement:

	S No	Name of the post	No. of posts	Remarks
Administrative Staff	1	Director	1	Should be an eminent Urdu scholar/writer/academician to be appointed by the Chairman in consultation with the Government for a fixed term of two years.
	2	Deputy Director	1	
	3	Accounts Officer	1	
	4	Section Officer	1	
	5	Senior Assistant	1	
	6	Junior Assistant	2	
	7	P. A. To Director	1	
	8	Accounts Assistant	1	
	9	Urdu DTO Operator	2	
	10	Driver	1	
	11	Peon	2	
Technical Staff	1	Editor	1	
	2	Assistant Editor	1	
	3	Research Assistant	2	
	4	Librarian	1	
	5	Assistant Librarian	2	
	6	Library Bearer	1	
		Total	22	

Constitution of Finance Committee

To run and manage the financial matters of the Jammu &

Kashmir State Council for Promotion of Urdu, it is necessary to have the Finance Committee with the following composition:

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. Financial Advisor (Administrative Secretary, Department of Finance) | Chairman |
| 2. Administrative Secretary, Department of Culture | Member |
| 3. Director J&K State Council for Promotion of Urdu | Member Secretary |
| 4. One non-official Member from the Executive Board | Member |

iv. Strengthening of the existing Urdu Section of J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages

The Committee feels that while the proposed J & K Council for Promotion of Urdu shall work for the promotion and propagation of Urdu language in the State, there is also need for strengthening the existing Urdu Section of the J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages. The Committee was informed that the Planning & Development Department has agreed for creation of 29 posts of different categories for the proposed Urdu Academy. Out of the agreed posts, 22 posts as proposed above shall be utilized for running the affairs of the proposed Jammu and Kashmir State Council for Promotion of Urdu while as 7 posts are recommended to be utilized in the J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages, with suitable change in nomenclature, for strengthening its Urdu Section.

Sd/

Director
School Education,
Jammu

Director
School Education,
Kashmir .

Secretary
J&K Academy of Art,
Culture & Languages

Secretary to
Government
School Education.
Department

Secretary to
Government
Higher Education
Department

Secretary to
Government
General Administration
Department

Commissioner/Secretary to Government
Tourism & Culture Department

Chief Secretary
Jammu & Kashmir Government

GLOSSARY

<i>akhara</i>	arena
<i>Allah</i>	Arabic word referring to God in Islam.
<i>Amir-i-Millat</i>	Leader of the Faithful
<i>anna</i>	coin, sixteen of which made a rupee
<i>Assalam-Alaikum</i>	Islamic salutation meaning 'Peace be on you'.
<i>azan</i>	call for Muslim prayers
<i>begar</i>	unpaid forced labour
<i>berukha</i>	indifferent
<i>bhoosa</i>	husk
<i>Bodh</i>	Buddhist
<i>Bud</i>	Banyan tree
<i>choti</i>	tuff of hair
<i>chhari</i>	mace
<i>Chinar</i>	Platinus orientalis, a huge shade tree
<i>Darbar</i>	royal court
<i>darshan</i>	view
<i>fateha</i>	prayers offered for a departed person

<i>gompa</i>	Buddhist prayer house
<i>guru</i>	spiritual teacher
<i>Haji</i>	Muslim who has performed <i>haj</i>
<i>hakeem</i>	a practitioner of Unani system of medicine
<i>halwa</i>	sweet pudding
<i>haram</i>	forbidden
<i>havan</i>	Hindu worship to invoke favours of God
<i>Hijra</i>	Islamic calendar
<i>hooka</i>	hubble-bubble
<i>idat</i>	mandatory period of wait for remarriage for a Muslim widow or divorcee woman
<i>Imam</i>	One who leads Muslim congregational prayers
<i>Imambarah</i>	A building used by Shi'ite Muslims for religious ceremonies.
<i>jagir</i>	semi autonomous fiefdom.
<i>jatha</i>	group of people
<i>Ka'ba</i>	a large cubical building and the holiest place in Islam situated in Makkah (Saudi Arabia), facing which Muslims all over the world prostrate during their prayers five times a day.
<i>khanqah</i>	hospice
<i>Khateeb</i>	one who delivers sermons at Muslim congregations
<i>kos</i>	a ancient unit of distance equivalent to about 2.5 miles

<i>langar</i>	community kitchen
<i>lingam</i>	an iconic representation of the Hindu deity, Shiva, used for worship in temples
<i>Maam Lal</i>	Maternal uncle
<i>Maharaja</i>	King, ruler
<i>Mirwaiz</i>	Chief Cleric
<i>mohalla</i>	a locality
<i>Mussalmans</i>	Muslims
<i>nezah</i>	spear
<i>nikah</i>	Muslim ceremony to solemnize marriage
<i>Panch</i>	village level public representative
<i>pandit</i>	Hindu priest
<i>Patwari</i>	village revenue official
<i>pheran</i>	a long cloak worn by Kashmiris
<i>poornima</i>	full moon
<i>Praja Sabha</i>	People's Assembly
<i>puja</i>	worship
<i>pujari</i>	priest who supervises prayers at a temple
<i>qasla</i>	batch of people
<i>qatil jatha</i>	band of killers
<i>qaumiyat</i>	nationalism
<i>qayamat</i>	doomsday or hell breaking loose
<i>Rajguru</i>	Palace priest
<i>rakh</i>	wildlife park
<i>rola</i>	mayhem

<i>sadhu</i>	a mendicant
<i>Sadr-i-Riyasat</i>	Head of the State
<i>Sayyid</i>	a Muslim claiming his descent from the Prophet of Islam
<i>Shivaa</i>	Hindu god
<i>Shivalingam</i>	aniconic representation of the Hindu deity, Shiva
<i>Shukal paksh</i>	full moon
<i>swami</i>	initiated into the religious monastic order or a religious <i>guru</i>
<i>taranga</i>	book
<i>tehsil</i>	an administrative unit
<i>Tehsildar</i>	a revenue official in-charge of a <i>tehsil</i>
<i>Thanedar</i>	in-charge officer of a police station
<i>tirtha</i>	shrine
<i>toap</i>	cannon
<i>Tonga</i>	horse-driven cart
<i>vihara</i>	Buddhist monastery
<i>wazir</i>	minister
<i>Wazir-i-Wazarat</i>	chief administrator of a division
<i>wazwan</i>	multi-cuisine Kashmiri feast
<i>yatra</i>	pilgrimage
<i>zari</i>	golden
<i>zulm</i>	oppression

REFERENCES AND ENDNOTES

THE MISSING MOSQUE

1. Rechristened as *Shankaracharya* hill after the end of the Muslim rule in Kashmir, Koshur Encyclopaedia, J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages, Vol. I, p. 304
2. As a young boy, the present author had climbed the hill several times with his friends in 1960s. There was a stone plinth adjacent to the ancient temple on the side of the Dal Lake which was said to be the remnant of a mosque. After about five decades, the present author again visited the hill-top on 8 May 2010. Except for the ancient stone structure being at its original place, the entire summit presented a vastly changed scene. There are umpteen structures, some makeshift and some permanent, that have come up there. The spot where existed the plinth of a disappeared structure was not there.

3. As told to the author by Ghulam Qadir son of Abdus Samad Mir on 16 October 2010.
4. Qadir recalls that Mir threatened Singh that if the land was not restored he would, as an extreme action, firmly catch hold of him and slip down the hill.
5. The present author approached Dr. Karan Singh through e-mail and fax to know his views about the dispute over the mosque but he chose to ignore the repeated requests for an interview or respond to the questionnaire that was sent to him.
6. Dogra ruler Gulab Singh had constructed a stone staircase up to the temple from Durga Nag on the side of the hill facing the River Jhelum. (Koshur Encyclopaedia, Vol I, p 304)
7. Parray passed away on 21 March 2013 at the age of 106.
8. The present author had a long interview with the centurion on 9 May 2010 during which he spoke, among other things, about the existence of a mosque atop the hill.
9. Parray's son, Muhammad Afzal, who was present during the interview, confirmed the existence of graves atop the hill and said that as a youngster, he, along with several persons from the locality, had accompanied Bakht Sahab, a spiritual personality of the area, up the hill who after meditation at the place, confirmed that there were some graves there. Another person, Abdul Majeed Parray, now a retired teacher, who was part of the group that visited the summit corroborated Muhammad Afzal's account.
10. Ali, Syed, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, manuscript with the Oriental Research Library, Hazratbal, p. 83. Sheikh Sultan Muhammad was a spiritual personality who remained in Kashmir for several years before going back to his homeland, Pakhli. He is said to have been the ruler of Pakhli and is buried there (*Tareekh-i-Kashmir*).
11. Ibid. Syed Ali's father, Syed Muhammad Kashmiri was the caretaker of *Khanqah-i-Moalla* (Grand Hospice), Srinagar during the time of Sultan Muhammad Shah. He wrote *Tareekh-i-Kashmir* in 1579 A.D. when Yusuf Shah Chak first ascended the throne. (*Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, Syed Ali. Trans. G. R. Bhat), p. 13).

12. Bernier, Francois, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 399, Author and writer, Dr. Brij Premi has also quoted this passage in his article, *Aurangzeb ka Safar-e-Kashmir- Bernier ki Zabani*, Sheeraza (Mughal Number), p. 254.
13. Sufi, G. M. D., *Kashir*, Vol. I, p. 59. (Abu'l Hassan 'Ali Farrukhi [d. 429 AH = 1037 AC], his [Mehmud's] contemporary, who accompanied him in his expeditions to Qannauj, Somanath and probably to Kashmir, gives expression in verse to Mehmud's desire disappointed.)
14. *Koshur Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, p. 303
15. *Tareekh-e-Hassan* (Trans. Dr. Shamsuddin Ahmad), Annotations, Vol. I, Part II, p. 800
16. The photograph is available on the Internet and can be accessed at <http://www.flickr.com/photos/23239528@N00/419095748/in/photostream>
17. Thorp, Robert, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, p. 21
18. Khayal, Ghulam Nabi, *Iqbal Aur Tehreek-e-Aazadi-e-Kashmir*, p. 26- 27
19. Interview with Muhammad Siddiq Parray on 9 May 2010.
20. File No. 97/E-43, Year 1917, Archives Repository, Jammu.
21. *Koshur Encyclopaedia*, Vol I, p 304.
22. Kak, R. C., *The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (2002), p. 76. Kak's book, initially titled as 'Guide to Kashmir Monuments' had run into trouble with the Government of Maharaja which refused permission to publish it on the ground that the "observations on the character of the people of Kashmir are quite out of place" and the book contained "matter or information that has very little to do with the monuments described therein". However, on the complaint of Kak , when the Government of India conveyed its intention to publish the book itself the Maharaja's Government decided to publish it after proper revision., File No. R-23, Year 1925, Archives Repository, Jammu.
23. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, (Trans. Thakur Chand Shahpuria), Vol. I, p.106-7
24. Stein, M. A., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Vol II, p 453.
25. *Tareekh-ul-Anbiya* by Zulfkar Arshad Geelani, p. 217-231.
26. Bernier, Francois, Travels in the Mughal Empire, p 430.

27. *Takht-i-Sulaiman* is the name that one profusely comes across in chronicles and travelogues and accounts written by foreign visitors as late as up to the 20th century.
28. William Wakefield, *The Happy Valley: Sketches of Kashmir and The Kashmiris*, London 1879, p 59
29. Koul, Pandit Anand, *Geography of Jammu & Kashmir State*, p. 148.
30. *Tareekh-i-Hassan* with brief annotations (Trans. Dr. Shamsuddin Ahmad), Vol. I, Part I, p. 483
31. Abul Fazl, *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol II (Trns H.S. Jarrett), p. 356; Trans. Francis Gladwin, Vol II, p 117
32. Kak, R. C., *The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (2002), p. 74
33. Khuihami, Hassan, *Tareekh-i-Hassan* (Trans. Dr. Shamsuddin Ahmad), Vol. II, p. 567.
34. A copy of the manuscript comprising 83 verses is available with the Oriental Research Library, Hazratbal.
35. Mir Syed Ali Hamdani who visited Kashmir in 1372 A.D., named Kashmir as *Bagh-e-Sulaiman* or Garden of Solomon, Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p 238 as quoted by Sufi, G. M. D. in *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p 11.
36. Mir, Saad Ullah, *Bagh-e-Sulaiman* (Persian manuscript is available with the Oriental Research Library, Hazratbal).
37. Hussnain, Fida, *Jesus in the East*, p 281
38. Khuihami, Hassan, *Tareekh-i-Hassan* (Trans. Dr. Shamsuddin Ahmad), Vol. I, p. 482. Hassan appears to be certain on Mehmood Ghazni's arrival in Kashmir and recounts the King's meeting with a venerated saint of Kashmir, Romhu (Rumme) Rishi, whom he visited in a cave where the latter lived. Mehmood requested the saint to wish him luck in his military expedition to Kalinjar upon which the saint told him that besides Kalinjar the keys of Somnath have also been given to him. He then tore a piece of his cloth and asked Mehmood to tie it on his flag and that as long as it would be part of it he would not face defeat. Rohmu Rishi lived for 322 years before he disappeared in the cave. (Hassan Khoihamai, *Tareekh-i-Hassan* (Trans. Dr. Shamsuddin Ahmad), Vol. III, p. 236-37.
39. *Wajeez-ut-Tawareekh*, Ghulam Nabi Shah Khanyari, Trns. Dr. Muhammad Yusuf Lone, 2006, p III. (*Wajeez-ul-Tawareekh*

was written between 1274 and 1279 *Hijra*. Shah writes that on the occasion of Mehmood Ghazni offering prayers at the temple a group of Hindus converted to Islam and Mehmood did not try to wrest the country from the local ruler who offered him many gifts. Mehmood met Rohmu Rishi in the forests of Harwan and sought [spiritual] help from him for his expedition of Kannauj. The saint prophesised his victory in Somnath also.) While Hassan writes Mehmood sought spiritual help for his proposed Kalinjar expedition Shah believes it was about Kannauj. Both these places are part of today's Uttar Pradesh and Mehmood besieged Kannauj in 1019 AD and Kalinjar in 1023 AD.

40. Hindu mythology, it may be recalled, credits a sage with a similarly sounding name, Kashyap, with draining off the lake *Satisar* and making Kashapmar (which it says is the old name of Kashmir) habitable. Deo is the Sanskrit/Hindi equivalent of *jin* or a spirit.
41. Vigne was also a sportsman and played first-class cricket. [Arthur Haygarth, *Scores & Biographies*, Volume 1 (1744-1826), Lillywhite, 1862.]
42. Vigne, G. T., *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo*, Vol I, P 377.
43. Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mughal Empire* (Trns. Archibald Constable), p. 399; Lawrence, Walter, *The Valley of Kashmir* (200 BC), p. 167
44. Kalhana's *Rajatarigini* (Trns. Stein), Book I, Verse 341
45. Ibid.
46. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, ed. H. F. Fowler and F. G. Fowler, 5th & 9th Edition.
47. Koul, Pandit Anand, *Geography of Jammu & Kashmir State*, p. 148
48. Lawrence, Walter, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 176
49. Ganhar, J. N., *Hamara Adab*, Jammu wa Kashmir number, Vol. 5, p. 95
50. Ahmad, Khalid Bashir, *Jhelum-The River Through My Backyard*, p. 3
51. Bhat, G. R., Trans. *Tareekh-i- Kashmir*, Syed Ali, p. 165.
52. Bazaz, Prem Nath, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, (published 1954) p. 37

53. Constable, Archibald, Travels in the Mughal Empire (Bernier), p. 399
54. Lawrence, Walter, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 297-298, fn
55. Cowley Lambert, A Trip to Cashmere and Ladak, London 1877, p 33.
56. Buhler's Report, p 17 quoted by Stein in Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Vol II, p 453.
57. Buddhist scholar, Tashi Rabgyas confirms this religious guideline and refers to a book, *BidurKarmo* (White Sapphire), written by Desi Sangay Gyatso, Prime Minister of the 5th Dalai Lama, in the mid 17th century in which he has talked about the east to be the direction for a Buddhist shrine to face towards.
58. Stein, M. A., Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Vol II, p 453.
59. *Koshur* Encyclopaedia, Vol. I, p. 303
60. Cole, Hanry Hardy, Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir. Cole has also reproduced photograph of the two inscriptions in his book
61. Lawrence, Walter, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 177
62. Kak in his The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, published in 1933, refers to the disappearance of the two inscriptions as having taken place "sometime in the last few decades". Pratap Singh ruled Kashmir between 1885 and 1925.
63. *Koshur* Encyclopaedia, Vol. I, p. 303. According to Furguson, the construction of the temple was started by a Hindu in honour of Shiva during the time of Jahangir in the year 1069 H. (*Tareekh-i-Hassan* with brief annotations (Trans. Dr. Shamsuddin Ahmad), Vol. I, Part I, p. 483.
64. Kak, R. C., The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir (2002), p. 76
65. SRS Library, Jammu, Accession No. 3344.
66. Ibid, Accession No. 3084.
67. Stein, M. A., Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Vol II, p 452-53.
68. *Koshur Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, p. 304
69. Ibid.
70. Moorcroft, William, Travels, p 115
71. Civil & Military Gazette, April 25, 1935.
72. The 8th century Hindu philosopher and theologian of India who is credited with unifying and establishing the main currents of thought in Hinduism.

HISTORY OF A PILGRIMAGE

73. Press Release dated 13-8-2011 issued by the State Information Department, J&K Government put the figure of pilgrims visiting the shrine in 2011 as over 6.35 lakhs.
74. A 12th century Sanskrit versified narrative on Kashmir written by Kalhana, a native poet.
75. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, p. 282, fn 183
76. Ibid.
77. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, Book I, Verse 267.
78. Ibid, Verse 259.
79. Ibid. p. 41, f.n. 267.
80. "In verse 1324 it is mentioned that on the 14th dark night (Krishna chaturdarshi) after taking bath reaching the source of Samara, one is freed from sins, gets the compassion of Rudra i.e., Lord Shiva. It can be said with certainty that this place is not the present day pilgrimage of Amarnath because the most auspicious day of having *darshan* of Lord Amarnath (Shiva) falls on *Raksha Bandhan* (*Poornima*) day which falls in *Shukal Paksh* (Full Moon)." (Sangeeta Sharma, Sanskrit scholar, in an interview with the author on 30 November 2011).
81. Aurel Stein in his annotation to the *Tirtha* of Ameresvara invokes Jonaraja to suggest that Zain-ul-Aabideen (AD 1420-1470) had visited the shrine (Amarnath) quoting from his *Rajatarangini* (Bombay edition, 1233 sqq.) where he (Stein) suggests readers to compare his allusion with this reference. However, it is important to note that the texts of the Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini* translated by Koul or Dutt do not have any such reference. In the absence of this particular Bombay edition of the chronicle Stein's suggestion does not hold much ground.
82. Stein, M. A., Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Vol II, p.380.
83. Parmu, R. K., A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir (1320-1819), p. 143 f.n.
84. *Jainatarangini*, Verses 95 to 106, Trans. Dr. Raghunath Singh; J. C. Dutt, p. 146-148
85. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Vol II, p. 393
86. Kings of Kashmira, The *Rajatarangini* of Jonaraja, Srivara and Suka, Trans. J. C. Dutt, p 417

87. Ayeen Akbery or The Institutes of the Emperor Akber, Abul Fazl, Translated from the original Persian by Francis Gladwin, Vol 2, London, published in 1800, p 130
88. Jarrett describes it as 'somewhat higher than two yards'. Fazl, Abul, *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol II (Trns H.S. Jarrett), p. 360
89. Ibid.; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol II (Persian) published by Munshi Naval Kishore in 1881 A.D., p 173.
90. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo*, Vol II, p 7-8. Lidur or Lidder is a major stream and an important tributary of the Jhelum River, which rises at the base of the Kolahoi and the Sheeshnag glaciers and crosses the trek to Amarnath shrine.
91. A troubled trek, Praveen Swami, Frontline, Volume 19 - Issue 17, 17 - 30 August 2002.
92. Mukherjee was a serving Lieutenant General in the Indian Army posted in Kashmir and the then Security Advisor to J&K Chief Minister. C. Phunsog, Commissioner Home and G. A. Peer, Deputy Commissioner, Anantnag were the two members of the Committee.
93. A retired Indian Army Lieutenant General who, though being the senior most army officer was not considered by Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government suitable to lead the country's armed forces and was superseded by a junior colleague, Lieutenant General A. S. Vaidya. Sinha, feeling humiliated, resigned. In later years, he was appointed as Governor of north-eastern state of Assam where his tenure was marred by controversies surrounding his functioning. During his five year term as Governor of Jammu & Kashmir between 2002 and 2007, Sinha courted scathing criticism for his overbearing interference in the State Administration and highly controversial measures taken by him in the capacity of Chairman, Shri Amarnathji Shrine Board. During his tenure as Governor the highest ranking Muslim official on the staff of the Raj Bhawan in Srinagar was a gardener.
94. The SASB was constituted by an Act of the J&K Legislature in the year 2000.
95. Kotru, M. L., A Grave Concern, Greater Kashmir, 25 June 2013.
96. Parimoo, PLD, Kashmir and Sher-e-Kashmir, p 287
97. Greater Kashmir, 12 June 2008.

98. Sinha did not stop at creating controversy over the Amarnath pilgrimage but, during his last days as governor, also tried to fuel another by making a move "unheard of in parliamentary democracy" by asking the State Government to arm him with legislative powers to short-circuit the creation of the Sharda Peeth University in Kashmir. As Chairman, SASB he refused to be accountable to the State Legislature.
99. Newspaper columnists and environmentalists agitated the issue and raised concern through series of articles warning against the negative fallout of increase in the flow of pilgrims and duration of the *yatra* on the fragile eco-area that provides the largest drinking water supply to Kashmir. "Tens of thousands of empty water bottles, rag sacks, polythene and tones of solid waste was washed down by the Lidder to the power station [at Pahalgam]" (Economic Times, 30 June 2005), "With massive influx from Baltal as well as Pahalgam, the twin track stand converted into a vast garbage trail. Some of the glaciers on the treks have already started shrinking as tones of plastic shrouds them. Water chemistry of the Lidder has witnessed fundamental changes, officials admit... The open-defecation - that is quite a common phenomenon among pilgrims - has created a mess of the Himalayan order in the mountains. Officials posted in Pahalgam said since most of it is drained by the streams and rivulets into the Lidder river, it has totally changed its water chemistry. State's Pollution Control Board that sent a half-hearted team to study the impact in 2001 has already established the fact." (Economic Times, 22 August, 2005).
100. Faith leaves nature stinking, Daily Bhaskar, 12 July 2011. (<http://daily.bhaskar.com/article/J-AND-K-amarnath-yatra-faith-leaves-nature-stinking-2256624.html?ZX3-V>).
101. Press Trust of India (PTI) news report dated 10 July 2012 carried by various newspapers and TV news channels including IBN Live, Business Standard and Kashmir Images on 11 July 2012. The news report reads: "Srinagar, Jul 10 (PTI) Puri Shankaracharya Adhokshajanand Teerth Maharaj today expressed grave concern over the harm to the ecology of Kashmir caused by "quintals" of polythene littered by pilgrims along the Amarnath yatra track. "I am

sending a few observations to the Raj Bhawan. I came back from Yatra yesterday, I have some suggestions because I saw several problems there and these problems cannot be blamed on others, the concerned authority is to be held responsible," the Shankaracharya told reporters here. The Puri Shankaracharya said while narrow roads can be blamed on Pahalgam Development Authority, other issues relating to the yatra like ecology and cleanliness are governed by the Shri Amarnath Shrine Board (SASB). "Cleanliness is an issue, polythene is going there in quintals every day which is hurting the environment there," he said. The Shankaracharya also met hardline Hurriyat leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani at the latter's Hyderpora residence and discussed the situation in the state."

102. A Troubled Trek, Praveen Swami, Frontline, Volume 19 - Issue 17, 17-30 August 2002.
103. Swami Agnivesh, Greater Kashmir, 17 February 2013
104. Kashmir Dispatch.com, 19 May 2013
105. The Tribune, Chandigarh, 8 May 2008
106. Ibid.
107. Government Order No. 184-FST of 2008 dated 26-5-2008.
108. Parimoo, PLD, Kashmir and Sher-e-Kashmir, p 287
109. The Associated Press, 2 July 2007 (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/07/02/AR2007070200731.html>), Accessed on 26 September 2016.
110. Times of India dated 3 August 2011.
111. Ibid.
112. Recommendation No. 5 of the Nitish Sengupta Committee.
113. Asia News International, 8 August 2011. On the conclusion of the *yatra* on 13 August, the SASB claimed that 6.35 lakh pilgrims visited the cave shrine in 2011.
114. The Asia News International news report dated 8 August 2011.
115. Kashmir Times Online Edition, 23 July 2013. Giri's statement was welcomed by Kashmir Centre for Social and Development Studies (KCSDS). "Mahant Ji's statement is in line with the stand taken by several other Hindu leaders

- that the yatra should commence just one month prior to the festival of *Raksha Bandhan*’, Greater Kashmir, 24 July 2013.
116. A very senior functionary of the SASB, in a meeting with the present author on 13 July 2012, alluded to the connivance of police and security forces personnel with the pilgrims leading to unmanageable rush of people on the mountain trek.
 117. IANS news report dated 19 July 2012.
 118. Scoop News, Jammu, 3 August 2012.
 119. The Notice was issued on 14 Sawan, 2000 of the Hindu calendar corresponding to 29 July 1943. The pilgrims were also advised to take with them enough woolens and *kangris* (firepots) to keep themselves warm. The notice also warned weak, infirm and aged persons against setting out on the *yatra*. Tourists visiting Pahalgam were asked to reschedule their visit for their own convenience.
 120. This new form of protest became favourite with the youth of Kashmir to register their anger against India. A large group of youth among thousands odd protesters would make a circle and shout ‘*Ragda, ragda Bharat (India) ragda*’ in an orchestrated form while hitting the ground with their feet as if they were trampling something.
 121. The order was revoked by the State Cabinet vide Decision No. 107/09 dated 1-7-2008 followed by Government Order No. 291-FST of 2008 dated 1-7-2008.
 122. Times of India, 28 June 2008
 123. Amarnath Land Row Chronology of Events, Greater Kashmir, 19 August 2008
 124. Ibid.
 125. One kanal is equivalent to 1/8th of an acre.
 126. J&K Information Department press release NO:PR/J-1018 dated 31 August 2008
 127. Biscoe, C. E. Tyandale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p 146
 128. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/India-news/Srinagar/Amarnath-yatra-concludes-6-30-lakh-pay-obaisance-this-year/Article1-907174.aspx>. [In the preceding year (2011) the number of pilgrims was reported almost the same at 6.35 lakh. The official figures of J&K Tourism Department indicate a steep increase in the flow of pilgrims from 4824 in 1990, when Kashmir was amidst severe armed rebellion, to

- the previous highest of 4,98,198 in 2008, the year when the S. K. Sinha-inspired controversy peaked following the transfer of land to SASB.]
129. India News Portal, 18 May 2011. Agnivesh said, "I do not understand those who go for the Yatra. It is a religious deception."
 130. Navlakha, Gautam, Amarnath Yatra: Matter of Conviction Turned into Jingoistic Exercise, (Greater Kashmir, 18 June 2008).
 131. Ibid.
 132. Srinagar datelined ANI news story dated 8 August 2011.
 133. Rising Kashmir, 5 July 2013.
 134. The tourism department issued an advisory asking the locals to obtain permits for visiting Pahalgam and Sonamarg. However, after public outcry against this worst kind of apartheid the advisory was withdrawn.
 135. Greater Kashmir, 27 June 2005
 136. Idris Shahzad, Denying Realities Won't Do, Greater Kashmir, 15 August 2005
 137. A Sumo driver, Ghulam Nabi Lone, was thrashed and seriously injured by para-military CRPF troopers at Baltal on 4 July 2013 when he argued with them on why they had prevented him to move ahead. This led to huge protests by local shopkeepers, cab drivers and others.
 138. Wahid, Sidiq, The Amarnath Yatra and Living on the Edge, Greater Kashmir, 6 July 2013
 139. Thorp, Robert, Kashmir Misgovernment, p 40
 140. Ahmad, Murtaza, Wages of Yatra, Kashmir Observer, 26 September 1998.
 141. Biscoe, C. E. Tyndale, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p 146
 142. Ibid.
 143. Amarnath Yatra: A Militarized Pilgrimage, Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society and EQUATIONS, 2017.

JAMMU MASSACRES

144. Symonds, Richard, *The Making of Pakistan*, London, 1950, p 74
145. Snedden, Christopher, *What Happened To Muslims In Jammu?* Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol. XXIV, no.2 (2001), p 111.
146. Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Kashmir Saga*, p 55.

147. *Weekly Khalid*, Kashmir, 5 April 1941.
148. Stephens, Ian, *Pakistan*, New York, 1963, p 200.
149. *The Spectator*, 16 January 1948 [quoted by Naqvi, Saeed in *Being the Other: The Muslims of India*, p 187].
150. Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Kashmir Saga*, p 54. Leaders of separatist organisation, All Parties Hurriyat Conference, have been mentioning the fatal casualties suffered by the Muslims in Jammu Province at a staggering 500,000.
151. Snedden, Christopher, *Kashmir: The unwritten History*, p 75.
152. KASHMIR, Selected Documents, Statements by the Representatives of India & Pakistan in the Security Council, 1950.
153. Snedden, Christopher, *What Happened To Muslims In Jammu?* *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIV, no.2 (2001), p 121.
154. Keith Monroe, *The New Yorker*, 15 April 1950, p 81.
155. Terrible Fate: Ethnic Cleansing of Jammu Muslims in 1947 [<http://bloodiedrivers.wordpress.com/2013/02/17/>]. This, however, does not mean that violence against Jammu Muslims was initiated as a reaction to what had happened to Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan. Attacks on them had started much earlier. Arrival of Hindu and Sikh victims in Jammu only intensified violence against Muslims in Jammu.
156. *The Times of London*, 10 August 1948.
157. Muharram Hashmi, *Memory Lane to Jammu*, (ed Rad & Hassan), p 107.
158. Abbas was arrested in 1946 and released in 1948 only.
159. Christopher Snedden, *What Happened To Muslims In Jammu?* *Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIV, no.2 (2001), p 120.
160. Choudhary, Zafar, *Kashmir Conflict and Muslims of Jammu*, p 107.
161. *Ibid.*
162. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar* [Gulshan], p 311.
163. Singh, Karan, *Autobiography*, Oxford, 1989, p 37.
164. Choudhary, Zafar, *Kashmir Conflict and Muslims of Jammu*, p 90-91.

165. Khan, Mohammad Ibrahim, *The Kashmir Saga*, p 49.
166. Ibid, p 51.
167. Ibid, p 40-41.
168. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol II, p 814-15. Saraf quotes a Jammu medico, Dr. Abdul Karim, as being told by an eyewitness, Akbar Ali Haidri, that the latter along with one Wazir Ali happened to be near a bridge at Mishriwal when they saw some jeeps arriving there and three *Gujjars*, two of them young, coming from the opposite side. The jeeps halted and they saw Maharaja Hari Singh in a white suit getting out of the jeep along with Thakur Philail Singh and Thakur Faquir Singh. He pulled out his revolver and fired at the *Gujjars*. Two of them fell down on the spot while the third one tried to run away but a short in the back felled him as well.
169. Khan, Mohammad Ibrahim, *The Kashmir Saga*, p 53.
170. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar* [Gulshan Books, 2008], p 310.
171. Ibid, p 310-11.
172. *Collected Works*, Vol 90, [Naqvi, Saeed, *Being the Other: The Muslims of India*, p 192.
173. Shahab, Qudratullah, *Shahab Nama*, p 376.
174. Krishan Dev Sethi in an interview with the author on 6 December 2011.
175. Balraj Puri in an interview with the author on 4 December 2011.
176. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *The Kashmir Saga*, p 49-50. [Snedden also quotes this development in his paper, *What Happened To Muslims In Jammu?*, adding that "A plan was evolved to completely wipe out the Muslim population in the city of Jammu, and also in the districts of Jammu Province."]
177. Ibid, p 40.
178. Naqvi, Saeed, *Being the Other The Indian Muslims*, p 174.
179. Balraj Puri in an interview with the author on 4 December 2011.
180. Shabir Ahmad Salahria in an interview with the author on 6 December 2011.
181. Ibid.

182. Ved Bhasin in an interview with the author on 9 December 2011.
183. Ibid.
184. Alastair Lamb, *Incomplete Partition*, Roxford 1997, p 128.
185. Christopher Snedden, *Kashmir-The Unwritten History*, p 51
186. Ibid, p 51-52
187. Ibid, p 52
188. Ibid, p 53
189. Ibid, p 53
190. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, *Aatash-i-Chinar* (Gulshan, 2008), p 311.
191. Naqvi, Saeed, *Being the Other: The Muslims of India*, p 187.
192. Ibid, p 188.
193. Snedden, Christopher, *Kashmir: The Unwritten History*, p75.
194. Ibid.
195. Ibid.
196. Ibid.
197. Balraj Puri in an interview with the author on 4 December 2011.
198. Ibid.
199. Mehmood Ahmad Khan, a survivor of the Reasi massacre, in an interview with the author on 18 January 2012.
200. Khawaja Abdur Rauf of Reasi in an interview with the author on 18 December 2011.
201. Ibid.
202. Ibid.
203. Mehmood Ahmad Khan in an interview with the author on 18 January 2012.
204. Choudhary, Zafar, *Kashmir Conflict and Muslims of Jammu*, p 95.
205. Wazira Begum in an interview with the author on 1 February 2012. Rehmat Ullah Rad also mentions this gruesome incident in *Memory Lane to Jammu*, p 155-56.
206. Ibid.
207. Krishan Dev Sethi in an interview with the author on 6 December 2011.
208. Haji Muhammad Bashir of Chenani in an interview with the author on 12 February 2012.
209. Jamal-ud-Din in an interview with the author on 12 February 2012.

210. Ibid.
211. Kashmir-The Unwritten History, p 53, Christopher Snedden.
212. Ved Bhasin in an interview with the author on 9 December 2011.
213. Muhammad Sidiq Parray, My Hundred Years (unpublished), also in an interview with the author on 9 May 2010. Parray passed away at the age of 106 on 21 March 2013.
214. Muhammad, Chowdhary Fateh, in an interview with the author on 12 February 2012.
215. Snedden, Christopher, *Kashmir-The Unwritten History*, p 53.
216. Ibid.
217. Ved Bhasin in an interview with the author on 9 December 2011.
218. Hashmi, Mehmood, *Kashmir Udaas Hai*, Second Edition, 1999, Lahore, p. 309, 314.
219. Hashmi, Muharram, *Memory Lane to Jammu*, (ed Rad & Hassan), p 89
220. Ved Bhasin in an interview with the author on 9 December 2011.
221. Shabir Ahmad Salahria in an interview with the author on 6 December 2011.
222. Hashmi, Muharram, *Memory Lane to Jammu*, (ed Rad & Hassan), p 119.
223. Handoo, Bilal, 1947: The Last Letter, *Kashmir Life*, 7 November 2016.
224. Ibid.
225. Hashmi, Muharram, *Memory Lane to Jammu*, (ed Rad & Hassan), p106.
226. Rad, Rehmat Ullah, *Memory Lane to Jammu*, (ed Rad & Hassan), p 154.
227. Hashmi, Mehmood, *Kashmir Udaas Hai*, Second Edition, 1999, Lahore, p 304.
228. Ibid.
229. Hashmi, Muharram, *Memory Lane to Jammu*, p 119.
230. Ibid.
231. Krishan Dev Sethi in an interview with the author on 6 December 2011.
232. Ved Bhasin in an interview with the author on 9 December 2011.

233. Snedden, Christopher, *What Happened To Muslims In Jammu?* Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol. XXIV, no.2 (2001), p 120.
234. Mehmood Hashmi, *Kashmir Udaas Hai*, Second Edition, 1999, Lahore, p 304.
235. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, [Gulshan], p 312.
236. Mehmood Hashmi, *Kashmir Udaas Hai*, Second Edition, 1999, Lahore, p 304-05.
237. Abdul Aziz Bhat in an interview with the author on 1 December 2011.
238. 1947: The Last Letter, *Kashmir Life*, 7 November 2016.
239. Nazir Ahmad, 75, of Mohalla Afghana in an interview with the author on 12 October 2014.
240. Krishan Dev Sethi in an interview with the author on 6 December 2011.
241. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol II, p 818.
242. *Civil & Military Gazette*, 2 December 1947.
243. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol II, p 835.
244. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, [Gulshan Books, 2008], p 313.
245. Ghansara Singh was the Governor of Gilgit when in 1947 pro-Pakistan Gilgit Forces revolted against him and took him prisoner.
246. Hashmi, Muharram, *Memory Lane to Jammu*, (ed Rad & Hassan), p 104.
247. Snedden, Christopher, *Kashmir-The Unwritten History*, p 53,
248. Ibid.
249. Nazir Ahmad Khan in an interview with the author on 12 October 2014. Nazir's family was rescued from Mohalla Afghana by his two maternal uncles and taken to their home in Ustad Mohalla. Immediately after their flight from their home the attackers descended on Mohalla Afghana and wiped out a large family of a Muslim washerman.
250. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, [Gulshan Books, 2008], p 311.

251. Story of Razia told to the author by her elder daughter on 1 August 2014.
252. Census of India, Vol. VI, Jammu & Kashmir, Part I-A (II), General Report
253. Chatta, Illyas, *Terrible Fate: Ethnic Cleansing of Jammu Muslims in 1947*, [<http://bloodiedrivers.wordpress.com/2013/02/17>]. Accessed on 2 October 2016.
254. Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Kashmir Saga*, p 54.
255. Hashmi, Muharram, *Memory Lane to Jammu*, (ed Rad & Hassan), p 95
256. Krishan Dev Sethi in an interview with the author on 6 December 2011.
257. Wazira Begum in an interview with the author on 1 February 2012.
258. As told by the duo to Nazir Ahmad of Mohalla Afghana who narrated this in an interview with the author on 12 October 2014.
259. Choudhary, Zafar, *Kashmir Conflict and Muslims of Jammu*, p78-79.
260. Ibid, p 130-31.
261. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, [Gulshan Books, 2008], p 322-23.
262. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Kashmir: Appeal To World Conscience*, Printed & Published by the Principal Public Relations Officer, Government of Jammu & Kashmir, Army Press, Delhi.
263. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, [Gulshan Books, 2008], p 309-10.
264. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf. *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol II, p 818-19
265. Ved Bhasin in an interview with the author on 9 December 2011.
266. Krishan Dev Sethi in an interview with the author on 6 December 2011.

THE EYEWITNESSES

267. The interview was held on 6 December 2011 between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. at the Dalpatian, Jammu residence of Mr. Sethi.
268. Part of the erstwhile princely state of Jammu & Kashmir, now a part of the Pakistan-Administered Jammu & Kashmir.

269. Now named Nawabad.
270. Begra later served as a Member of the Indian Constituent Assembly.
271. Alam was one of the many people who returned to their homes from across the border.
272. The interview was held on 9 December 2011 between 12 Noon and 1 p.m. at the *Kashmir Times* office, Residency Road, Jammu.
273. Mehar Chand Mahajan was picked by Maharaja Hari Singh as his Prime Minister in 1947. He later served as the third Chief Justice of India.
274. A politician from Jammu Province who also served as Member of the J&K Legislature.
275. The interview was held at the residence of Prof. Bhat at Bhathandi, Jammu on 1 December 2011 between 4 p.m. and 5.30 p.m. Also present was Prof. Assadullah Wani.
276. A city of Pakistan's Punjab Province bordering Jammu.
277. The interview was held at the residence of Shabir Ahmad Salahria at Dalpatian, Jammu on 6 December 2011 between 10 a.m. and 11 a.m.
278. Post-1947, rechristened as Rajinder Bazar.
279. The interview was held at the residence of Khawaja Abdur Rauf at Reasi on 18 January 2012 at noon.
280. Member of the Hindu rightwing party *Jana Sangh* which was later rechristened as the *Bhartiya Janta Party*. Kaushal was accused of actively participating in armed attacks on Muslims in Reasi.
281. The interview was held at the Karan Nagar, Jammu residence of Puri on 4 December 2011 between 11 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. Also present was Qazi Muhammad Shafi.
282. The interview was held on 4 December 2011 at his Gandhi Nagar, Jammu residence between 5.30 p.m. and 6.15 p.m. Also present was Qazi Muhammad Shafi.
283. The interview was held at the temporary residence of the present author at Jammu on 18 December 2011 in the evening.
284. The interview was held on 1 February 2012 between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. at the Bhathandi, Jammu residence of Khalid Hussain who was also present.

285. The interview was held on 12 February 2012 at the residence of Haji Muhammad Bashir at Chenahni in Udhampur district at 1 p.m. Also present was Muhammad Morifat Qadri.
286. The interview was held at the residence of Haji Muhammad Bashir at Chenahni on 12 February 2012 between 1 p.m. and 4.30 p.m. Also present was Muhammad Morifat Qadri. Jamal was 15 years old when the Muslims in Chenahni were attacked.
287. The interview was held at the residence of Haji Muhammad Bashir at Chenahni on 12 February 2012 between 3 p.m. to 4 p.m. Also present was Muhammad Morifat Qadri.
288. Muslim festival observed after a month-long fasting in the *Ramadhan*, the 9th month of the Islamic calendar.

JINNAH AND KASHMIR

289. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 619
290. Ibid.
291. Famous tourist resort in south Kashmir. Jaswant Singh's book, 'Jinnah: India-Partition- Freedom' carries two photographs under the caption 'Holiday-I and Holiday-II'. Although there is no mention of the place where these have been taken but the setting clearly indicates that these are from his visits to Kashmir. In the first photograph he is seen mounted on a horseback along with his sister and his close associate, Liaquat Ali Khan and Mrs. Rana Liaquat Ali Khan. The horse-owners clad in Kashmiri dress donning typical Kashmiri caps conclusively establish that it has been taken in Kashmir. Although no textual evidence is forthcoming to suggest Jinnah had visited Gulmarg but the photograph with the caption 'Holiday II' in which he is seen sitting on a rock on the bank of a small stream presents the unmistakable background of Gulmarg.
292. Wolpert, S., *Jinnah of Pakistan* (1984) p. 87
293. Dwarkadas, Kanji, *Ruttie Jinnah: The Story Told And Untold*, p 12.
294. Bolitho, Hector, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, p 75.
295. Ibid, p 74.
296. Begum Hatim Bhai Tayyabji, daughter of Sir Akbar Hyderi, the ex-Prime Minister of State of Hyderabad, Deccan quoted

- in Khawaja Razi Haider's *Ruttie Jinnah: The Story, Told And Untold*, p 57.
297. Bolitho, Hector, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, p 74.
 298. Dwarkadas, Kanji, *The Story Of A Great Friendship*, p 7.
 299. Ibid, p 8.
 300. Bolitho, Hector, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, p 92.
 301. Sunder Kabadi, one of Jinnah's early admirers quoted in K. H. Khurshid's *Memories of Jinnah*, p72.
 302. The Bawla Murder case, also known as the Malabar Hill Murder case of 1925, created a stir in India. The Maharaja of Indore, Tukojirao Holkar III, was in love with a Muslim courtesan, Mumtaz Begum, who escaped his harem. She was in love with a wealthy businessman of Bombay, Abdul Kadir Bawla. Holkar had Bawla murdered in the Hanging Garden of Bombay. As his involvement in the murder was public he had to abdicate his throne which he did in favour of his son. Jinnah fought the case on behalf of the main accused and succeeded in saving him from death penalty.
 303. Dwarkadas, Kanji, *The Story Of A Great Friendship*, p 35.
 304. Aziz Beg is the author of *Jinnah and His Times: A Biography* published in 1986 by Babur & Amar Publications.
 305. Aziz Beg as quoted by Khwaja Razi Haider, author of *Ruttie Jinnah: The Story Told and Untold*, p 77.
 306. Haider, Khawaja Razi, *Ruttie Jinnah: The Story, Told And Untold*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi (2004), p 58.
 307. Ibid.
 308. Ibid.
 309. Ibid, p 58.
 310. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 619.
 311. Ibid.
 312. Ibid., p 620.
 313. Jinnah told a Parsi friend who tried to reconcile them: "It is my fault: we both need some sort of understanding we cannot give." Ruttie died in 1929 at the young age of less than 29. "When the body was lowered into the earth, Jinnah abandoned his defences: he bowed his head and sobbed." [Bolitho, Hector, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, pp 91- 95]. The

- couple had one child, Dina Jinnah, who later married a Parsi man, Neville Ness Wadia, against the wishes of her father, leading to Jinnah literally disowning her. Although being the apple of his eyes, Jinnah later never addressed her as Dina but as Mrs. Wadia. In 1946, he met her and her two children in Bombay. [The Express Tribune, 23 May 2010].
314. Ahmad, Khalid, *The Woman Jinnah Loved*, The Express Tribune, 23 May 2010.
 315. Ibid.
 316. Letter No. 721 dated 18 May 1927 from Kashmir Darbar to G. E. C. Wakfield.
 317. 13 July 1931 marks the profound announcement of Kashmiris' struggle for freedom from occupation. On this day, 22 unarmed civilians were killed by Dogra soldiers when they opened fire on a large number of people who had assembled at the Srinagar Central Jail to witness the proceedings of the trial against Abdul Qadeer Khan who had made a fiery speech earlier at *Khanqah-i-Moalla* against the despotic rule of the Dogra Maharaja. The incident gave birth to an organised movement against the Dogra rule in Kashmir.
 318. *The Tribune*, Lahore, 6 May 1936.
 319. Ibid, 13 May 1936.
 320. Ibid.
 321. Ibid. 6 May 1936.
 322. *The Kashmir Times*, 26 May 1936.
 323. Ibid.
 324. Ibid.
 325. Ibid.
 326. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 620.
 327. Ibid, p 621.
 328. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, [Gulshan Publishers, 2008], p 305
 329. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 621.
 330. Ibid.
 331. Ibid.
 332. Ibid, p 620

333. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, p 305
334. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, Kashmiris Fight For Freedom, Vol I, p 620. Munshi corroborates that Jinnah appeared in two cases in the court but does not elaborate. [Ishaq, Munshi Muhammad, *Nida-e-Haq* p 133].
335. Abdur Rashid Pandit, son of Abdus Samad Pandit in an interview with the author on 16 October 2010. The narrator was not sure about the year in which the case was pleaded in the court, and thought it to be 1942. However, there is no evidence of Jinnah visiting Kashmir that year. During his visit in 1944, he refused to plead any case in Kashmir as he was now President of the All India Muslim League and considered it ethically improper to do so. [Ishaq, Munshi Muhammad, *Nida-e-Haq*, p 133-34].
336. In an interview with the author on 5 October 2010. Abdul Gaffar Chapri's eldest son, Muhammad Iqbal Chapri, one of the earliest Muslim graduates from Kashmir, was a staunch loyalist of Jinnah and both father and son suffered a lot at the hands of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's National Conference Government for holding pro-Pakistan views. On 11 September 1948, when the news of Jinnah's demise reached Kashmir Iqbal Chapri hired a *tonga* to take out his funeral procession in absentia with a black badge tied on his arm as a mark of bereavement. He was accompanied by one Ghulam Nabi Guru. This was the time when the Government in Kashmir had clamped down on people with pro-Pakistan leanings. They were arrested and tortured in jail. When the *tonga* reached Zainakadal in old Srinagar city, the police seized it, beat up Chapri and lodged him in jail.
337. Ibid.
338. Ishaq, Munshi Muhammad, *Nida-e-Haq*, p 133.
339. The *Kashmir Times*, 26 May 1936.
340. File No. PR/M-163, Publicity Department, 1936, Archives Repository Jammu.
341. Ibid.
342. Ishaq, Munshi Mohammad, *Nida-i- Haq* (2014), p 80.
343. Ibid.
344. Weekly *Ranbir*, Jammu, 1 November 1937; Khan, Ghulam Hassan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir-1931-1940*, p 344-45.

345. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, [Gulshan Publishers, 2008], p 305.
346. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 622. Saraf identifies the place of the public meeting as the Pathar Masjid. The Pathar Masjid and the Mujahid Manzil are located adjacent to each other.
347. Address of Welcome Presented By The All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference To Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, File No. PR/M-163, Publicity Department, 1936, Archives Repository Jammu.
348. Ibid.
349. Ishaq, Munshi Muhammad, *Nida-e-Haq*, p 133.
350. The *Khalid*, Srinagar, 3 July 1939.
351. Ahmad, Khalid Bashir, *When Begum Deserted Sheikh*, Kashmir Life, 29 June-5 July 2014.
352. Khan, Ghulam Hassan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir 1931-1940*, Gulshan Books, 2009, p 272.
353. Ibid. Khan quotes *The Statesman* dated 6 April 1939, *the Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore dated 7 April 1939, and the *Weekly Aina*, Srinagar dated 21 December 1975.
354. Noorani, A. G., *Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah- Part I*, Greater Kashmir, 15 April 2017. (Noorani quotes Waheed Ahmad: The Nation's Vice, Speeches and Statements, March 1935-March 1940; Quid-i-Azam Academy, 1992; p. 363. An invaluable volume.)
355. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, (Gulshan Books, 2008), p 174.
356. Ahmad, Khalid Bashir, *When Begum Deserted Sheikh*, Kashmir Life, 29 June-05 July 2014.
357. Letter of District Magistrate Kashmir No. JC-1812 dated 10-4-1944.
358. The proposal was dropped subsequently as Mr. Jinnah refused to endorse the National Conference politics in Kashmir.
359. Confidential letter of District Magistrate, Kashmir No. JC-1823 dated 12-4-1944, Confidential letter of District Magistrate, Kashmir No. JC-37 dated 22-4-1944.
360. Ibid.
361. Confidential letter of District Magistrate, Kashmir No. JC-37 dated 22-4-1944.

362. District Magistrate's letter to Prime Minister vide No. JC-109 dated 6-5-1944.
363. Letter of District Magistrate Kashmir to Deputy Chief Secretary, Political department vide No. JC 149 dated 12-5-1944.
364. Additional District Magistrate's Order No. 276 dated 9-5-1944.
365. Letter of District Magistrate, Kashmir to the City President, Muslim Conference vide No. JC-124 dated 10-5-1944.
366. Rashid, Haroon, *The Daily Jang*, Lahore, 17 February 2012.
367. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 622; Chowdhary Gulam Abbas, *Kashmakash*, p 213
368. Abbas, Chowdhary Ghulam, *Kashmakash*, p 213-14.
369. Hashmi, Muharram, *Memory Lane to Jammu*, p 82.
370. Hashmi, Mehmood *Kashmir Udaas Hai*, Reportage, p 290
371. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 622. According to Saraf, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad also accompanied Mr. Jinnah from Jammu but this is not borne out by the police report submitted to the District Magistrate Kashmir by Superintendent of Police, Srinagar on 17 May 1944. The report suggests that Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad arrived at Qazigund shortly after *Mirwaiz* Molvi Muhammad Yusuf Shah to receive Mr. Jinnah.
372. Abbas, Chowdhary Ghulam, *Kashmakash*, p 215.
373. Weekly *Khalid*, Srinagar, 12 May 1944.
374. Ibid.
375. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his *Aatash-e-Chinar*, p 312, writes that Molvi Muhammad Yusuf Shah received Mr. Jinnah at Qazigund but the police report of 17 May 1944 states the *Mirwaiz* was seen driving towards "Tunnel" while Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad waited at Qazigund. According to Saraf, the *Mirwaiz* and Mirza Afzal Beg received Mr. Jinnah at Banihal (*Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 622).
376. Weekly *Khalid*, Srinagar, 12 May 1944.
377. Note submitted by Superintendent of Police, Srinagar to District Magistrate Kashmir vide No. 809 dated 17-5-1944.
378. Ibid.
379. The Muslim Conference workers, Ghulam Nabi, Ghulam Hassan and Muhammad Abdullah made a joint complaint

at the Police Post accusing Mohammad Tangaban and 14 other National Conference supporters of assaulting them, snatching their turbans from their heads and also stealing some instruments of their Band. The Sub-Inspector had refused to entertain their complaint but the Superintendent of Police after hearing the complainants ordered registration of FIR and investigation.

380. Zahiruddin, *Kashmir Ink*, 28 March 2016.
381. Ibid.
382. Weekly *Khalid*, Srinagar, 12 May 1944.
383. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 623
384. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar* [Gulshan Books, 2008], p 222.
385. Abbas, Chowdhary Gulam, *Kashmakash*, p 221.
386. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 623.
387. Weekly *Khalid*, Srinagar, 12 May 1944.
388. Ibid.
389. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, *Aatash-e-Chinar*, p 218 and 224.
390. Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, ed. Khalid Hassan, p 6
391. Ishaq, Munshi Muhammad, *Nida-e-Haq*, p 133.
392. Ibid. Ishaq quotes Muhammad Yusuf Qureshi, a prominent Muslim Conference leader to make this claim.
393. Ibid. (In 1968 after his release, Abdullah in an interview with the *Shabistan*, an Urdu monthly published from Delhi, confirmed that Jinnah had cautioned him that if he did not listen to his advice he might repent later. Abdullah told the interviewer : "Quaid-e-Azam had told me that I am like your father. Look at my grey hair. It has not grayed under the sunshine. I have spent my entire life in politics. Initially, I had joined these very Hindu leaders and dreamt of a united India but was forced to part ways. Remember! If you do not listen to my advice you will repent one day." [*Shabistan*, Sheikh Abdullah: Dost ya Dushman, Special publication, January 1968]). In his memoirs, Abdullah quotes Jinnah as further saying to him that his experience was that Hindus cannot be trusted and that they can never be your friends. "Time

- will come when you will recall my words and feel sorry", he told Abdullah and asked him, "How can you trust a people who consider it a sin to accept water from your hands?" He narrated an incident when Madan Mohan Malviya refused to have food with him on the same table when he had called on Jinnah at the latter's residence citing religious reasons. [*Aatash-i-Chinar*, (Gulshan Books, 2008), p 220].
394. Ibid. The strain in their mutual relationship was reflected from Abdullah's speeches later and an incident at a public meeting addressed by Jinnah at Baramulla on his return from Kashmir.
395. Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, ed. Khalid Hassan, p 6. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah identifies the owner of the house as Amjad Ali. [*Aatash-i-Chinar*, Gulshan Books, 2008, p 222].
396. Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, ed. Khalid Hassan, p 13; According to Saraf, the Maharaja feigned illness to avoid a meeting with Jinnah. (Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 624).
397. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 624., Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, p 8.
398. Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, *Aatash-e-Chinar* [Gulshan Books, 2008], p 224.
399. Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, ed. Khalid Hassan, p 13.
400. Abbas, Chowdhary Ghulam, *Kashmakash*, p 230-31.
401. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 629.
402. Ibid, p 629. Saraf gives full text of the speech quoting the *Javed* dated 6 July 1944.
403. Ibid, p 630.
404. Ibid.
405. Ibid, p 631.
406. Ibid.
407. Ibid, p 624.
408. Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, ed. Khalid Hassan, p 12.
409. *Daily Khidmat*, Srinagar, May 14, 1944.
410. Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, p 9-10.
411. Khurshid, who later became the first elected President of Azad Kashmir, served as private secretary of Jinnah from

June 1944 to August 1947, when the latter was spearheading the movement for creation of Pakistan, and, later, from 14 August to 11 September 1948 when he was the Governor General of Pakistan. The first order Jinnah is said to have signed as Governor General was to appoint Khurshid as his private secretary. Known as a principled politician and a man of integrity, Khurshid was imprisoned by President Ayub Khan for his criticism of the Operation Gibraltar of 1965. He did not own any property and died in a road accident on 11 March 1988 while travelling in a public passenger bus carrying a purse of Rs. 37 with him. Khurshid was the 'private secretary' who Jinnah spoke about, besides his type-writer, with whose help, he said, he created Pakistan. He had good understanding of Kashmir and Jinnah sent him to Srinagar to meet Sheikh Abdullah in a bid to win him over from India. However, he was arrested by the then Government of Kashmir. Jinnah was very upset about the development and wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru, "My work is suffering greatly and I want Khurshid back." [*My Leader*, N. A. Hussain] However, it was only after the death of Jinnah and 13 months into prison that Khurshid was released and sent to Pakistan in exchange of the release of Gansara Singh, Dogra Army Brigadier who was captured by Kashmiri rebels on the fall of Gilgit in 1947. Fatima Jinnah had campaigned for Khurshid's release after the death of her brother.

412. Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, ed. Khalid Hassan, p 9.
413. *Daily Khidmat*, 14 May 1944.
414. *Ibid.*
415. *Weekly Khalid*, Srinagar, 9 June 1944.
416. Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, ed. Khalid Hassan, p 10-11.
417. Bolitho, Hector, *Jinnah- Creator of Pakistan*, p 147.
418. Singh, Jaswant, *Jinnah-India- Partition-Independence*, p 310.
419. As evidenced by photographs of that period. Jaswant Singh's book, *Jinnah-India-Partition-Independence*, also carries two photographs, one with the four mounted on horses and Kashmiri horse-owners standing by their side and the other with Jinnah sitting on the banks of a small stream, which by the landscape appears to be Gulmarg.

420. Khurshid, K. H., *Memories of Jinnah*, ed. Khalid Hassan, 13
421. The 91-page book is based on Khurshid's impressions of Jinnah and those of the latter's close associates. Edited by author's brother-in-law and journalist, Khalid Hassan, the book was published by the Oxford University Press, Karachi in 1990.
422. Sayyid Jamaat Ali Shah was a highly revered spiritual personality of *Naqshbandiya* order who had millions of followers in the subcontinent. He was born in Alipur Sayyidan village of Sialkot district in Pakistani Punjab and supported Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his struggle for creation of Pakistan.
423. Muhammad Yusuf Chapri recalls that his father, Abdul Gaffar Chapri, had taken Mr. Jinnah in a vehicle to Ganderbal where Jamaat Ali Shah was lodged in a houseboat. He said that Mr. Jinnah had desired to visit the saint and when they alighted from the vehicle and approached the houseboat Mr. Jinnah was smoking cigarette. Chapri pleaded with him to drop the cigarette as he was going to meet a great spiritual personality. Jamaat Ali Shah heard this and said that he was welcome with smoking a cigarette.
424. Biography of Sayyid Jama'at Ali Shah (r.a) 1841-1951 Part 20 (http://www.nfi.com/blogspot.com/blogspot.com/2009_06_01_archive.html [Accessed on 27 September 2016]).
425. Ibid.
426. Ibid.
427. Sherwani met a violent end when Tribal raiders nailed him to death after he led them astray when they asked for the direction to reach Srinagar. The Tribals were advancing towards Srinagar to capture the airfield before Indian troops could land in Kashmir. The delay in their arrival in Srinagar sealed the fate of Kashmir and the retreating Tribals caught hold of Sherwani at Baramulla and put him to death.
428. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 633
429. Bolitho, Hector, *Jinnah- Creator of Pakistan*, p 147
430. Ali, Chaudhri Muhammad, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, p 290.

431. Khan Lal, Kashmir's Ordeal, In Defence of Marxism, <http://www.marxist.com/kashmirs-ordeal-chapter-four.htm> [Accessed on 27 September 2016].
432. Ali, Chaudhri Muhammad, The Emergence of Pakistan, p 297
433. Ibid.
434. Ibid, p 289-90.
435. Ibid, p 292.
436. Ibid.
437. Ibid.
438. Lamb, Alastair, *Birth of a Tragedy: Kashmir 1947*, p 82. Lamb quotes Daily *Express* of 25 October 1947.
439. Ibid, p 77-78.
440. Bolitho, Hector, Jinnah: The Creator of Pakistan, p 207
441. Ibid.
442. Jinnah-Mountbatten Talks (1947), Story of Pakistan, www.storyofpakistan.com/articletext.asp?artid=A111 [Accessed on 27 September 2016].
443. Naqvi, Saeed, *Being the Other: The Muslims in India*, p 174.
444. Ibid, p179.
445. Bolitho, Hector, Jinnah: The Creator of Pakistan, p 205
446. Akhtar, Kalim, *Fatima Jinnah and Kashmir*, The Pakistan Times, Islamabad, 9 July 1995.
447. Ibid.

A SCRIPTED CONTROVERSY

448. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol I, p 556-57.
449. There is no consensus among scholars and writers on the exact year of declaring Urdu the official language of Jammu & Kashmir. However, mostly the year is believed to be 1888-1889. Saraf identifies the year as 1898 [*Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol I, p 557]. Efforts to locate any official document on the subject from the archival record of the Dogra period were unsuccessful.
450. Ibid, p 557-58.
451. Weekly *Chand*, Jammu, 20 January 1942.
452. Ayyangar was a civil servant from the Madras Civil Service who served as Prime Minister of Kashmir from 1937 to 1943. Later, he became a minister in the first cabinet of Prime

- Minister of India, Jawahar Lal Nehru and held different portfolios including defence. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah claims to have influenced Nehru's decision to pick Ayyangar as his minister. [*Aatash-e-Chinar* (Gulshan Books, 2008, p 234)]
453. Naqvi, Saeed, *Being the Other: The Indian Muslims*, p 175.
454. *The Kashmir Times*, 27 April 1937.
455. *Weekly Khalid*, Srinagar, 7 April 1944.
456. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol I, p 558.
457. The Committee comprised the following : Khawaja Ghulam Saiyidain, Director Education as Chairman and Dr. Zakir Hussain, Principal Jamia Millia, Delhi, Tyndale Biscoe, Principal, C. M. S. High School, Srinagar, Ram Chand Mehndiratta, Inspector of Schools, Jammu, Qazi Mohammad Ishaque, Inspector Schools, Kashmir and Pandit Nand Lal Kunzru, Headmaster, S. P. High School, Srinagar, as Members.
458. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol I, p 559.
459. The Mirwaiz's letter to the Prime Minister forms an appendix to this book.
460. The Muslims in Kashmir had enmasse converted to Islam during the 14th-16th century AD. The minority Kashmiri Hindus who did not convert alleged that the conversion of their brethren was brought about by force.
461. *Weekly Chand*, Jammu, 20 January 1942.
462. Ibid.
463. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol I, p 563.
464. The newspapers then published from Punjab were divided into the Hindu Press and the Muslim Press on the basis of religion practiced by their owners and their support to politics of the respective community.
465. *The Tribune*, 29 November 1941.
466. The letter is published in the name of B. P. Sharma himself.
467. *The Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 20 January 1942.
468. Ibid.
469. *Weekly Chand*, Jammu, 20 January 1942.
470. Ibid.

471. Ibid.

472. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 565. The purported reaction of Abdullah is not borne out by any other source and appears in conflict with his opinion on Gandhi as expressed by him publicly and later also through his autobiography. It is possible that he had lost his cool over the reaction of the Hindu leaders of the National Conference, especially Prem Nath Bazaz, and spoken bitterly about the Congress and Gandhi whom they had invoked in support of their stand.

473. Saraf, Muhammad Yusuf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol I, p 560.

474. Maqbool, Majid, *The Writing on the Walls in Kashmir*, The Wire, 8 October 2016 [<http://thewire.in/71239/kashmir-graffiti/>], Accessed on 9 October 2016.

475. The Committee was constituted vide Government Order No. 577-GAD of 2013 dated 05-04-2013. Besides, the Chief Secretary, J&K as its Chairman, the Committee had as members the Administrative Secretary, Higher Education Department, Administrative Secretary, Culture Department, Administrative Secretary, School Education Department, Directors School Education, Kashmir and Jammu, and Secretary J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages.

476. On 24 February 2018, this author, disassociating himself from the purported State Council for Promotion of Urdu Language in J&K, issued the following statement which was carried by the press next day:

THANKS. BUT NO, THANKS

My attention is drawn to the Government Order No. 113-HE of 2016 dated 23-02-2018 regarding the constitution of the State Council for Promotion of Urdu Language (SCPUL). The Government has very kindly included my name among the Members of the Council. While I am thankful for this honour, I have the following few observations to make: My first reaction on looking at the present Government Order is that the constituted SCPUL is not the SCPUL conceived and recommended by the Government-appointed High Level Committee and approved by the Government. It is not even a shadow of that except for the name.

As Secretary, J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages, I was one of the members of the High Level Committee that recommended establishment of the State Council for Promotion of Urdu in 2013. The creation of an autonomous SCPUL with defined composition, aims and objectives, administrative set-up and functions, was a policy matter and a commitment of the State Government made on the floor of the Legislative Council and ought to have been followed by reference to the State Cabinet and issuance of an appropriate order. In comparison, however, the constituted SCPUL is no more than a Government Committee of a multitude of official and non-official members without any defined mandate. I am afraid the constituted SCPUL defeats the purpose and the spirit behind the conceived and approved SCPUL.

I feel constrained to recall how the idea of SCUPL came about and what were its envisaged aims, objectives and functions. On a reference from the State Legislative Council, a 6-member High Level Committee headed by the Chief Secretary was constituted vide Government Order No. 577-GAD of 2013 dated: 05-04- 2013, to look into the issues of promotion of the Official Language of the State i.e. Urdu; ways and means of overcoming the shortage of Urdu, Dogri and Kashmiri language teachers in Government Schools particularly the possibility of appointing subject specific teachers by the Education Department; and setting-up of Urdu Academy at Jammu and Srinagar.

During its first meeting on 10 June 2013, when the proposed Urdu Academy was taken up for discussion, I expressed reservations on its efficacy, given its proposed composition and functions. The proposed Academy would have worked at cross purposes with the J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages and replicated what the later was already doing with regard to promotion of Urdu language. I was able to convince the Committee on setting up of a vibrant, autonomous State level institution with active promotional and advisory role in the development of Urdu language in the State. This role was envisaged beyond activities JKAACL or other State Academies were performing. A Sub-Committee, headed by Commissioner/Secretary Tourism and Culture, with myself and Special Secretary, Higher Education as members, was constituted to dwell upon the issue further and come up with recommendations.

The Sub-Committee recommended constitution of State Council for Promotion of Urdu Language (SCPUL) with aims and objectives to promote and propagate Urdu language in Jammu & Kashmir; advise the Government on connecting Urdu language with employment and its propagation through curriculum and other means; take steps for making available in Urdu language knowledge of scientific and technology development; liaise with the State Government and other agencies in matters relating to promotion of Urdu language; and undertake projects for promotion of Urdu language as the Council may deem fit.

The proposed functions of the SCPUL included taking steps and suggesting ways and means to the Government, and coordinating activities undertaken by various institutions of the Government for promotion of Urdu language; arranging for sale and exhibition of Urdu books in the State; running vocational and skill- based courses in Urdu calligraphy and computer (The calligraphy school run by JKAACL was proposed to be transferred to the SCPUL); advising and suggesting the Government on Urdu curriculum for schools and colleges; giving scholarships to meritorious students in Urdu language; instituting an annual Urdu Award for propagation of the Official Language in J&K by any individual, institution or NGO; providing financial assistance to small and medium Urdu newspapers/journals for promotion of Urdu journalism; running orientation courses in Urdu language for non-Urdu speaking officials of the Government; advising the Government on issues connected with Urdu language as may be referred to it, and undertaking any other activity for the promotion of Urdu language as may be deemed fit by the Council. The Sub-Committee also recommended strengthening of the Urdu Section of the J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages.

The SCPUL was recommended to be an autonomous organization with Chief Minister as its Chairman and an Executive Board comprising 5 members of proven literary caliber, including some from outside J&K, and 3 official members including Minister for Culture, Administrative Secretary, Department of Culture and Financial Advisor. Director SCPUL, an eminent Urdu scholar/writer/academician, was to be the administrative head of the Council and the Member Secretary of the Executive Board. An establishment comprising 22 administrative and technical

staff of different categories was to assist him in the first instance. For decisions on financial matters the Council was to have a Finance Committee.

The recommendations made by the Sub-Committee were adopted in full by the High Level Committee and incorporated in its Final Report. The Report was issued on 4 October 2013 and presented by the Government in the Legislative Council where it was adopted.

The SCPUL now constituted through the Government Order No. 113-HE of 2016 dated 23-02-2018, it is nowhere near the SCPUL approved by the Government. It is not clear why, how and by whom the original composition of the SCPUL as recommended by the State Government-appointed High Level Committee headed by the Chief Secretary, and committed to by the State Government following adoption by the Legislative Council, has been changed.

The composition of the constituted SCPUL is of a typical Government appointed Committee where a conscious effort appears to have been made to create a balance among different regions of the State than focus on promotion of the State's Official Language. This is not what had been conceived in the establishment of the SCPUL. The Director of the SCPUL is not even Member Secretary of the Council. What is his position in the Council and how is he supposed to function is not clear. Where is his administrative and technical staff?

I have come to this painful conclusion that the Government Order in question is an affront to the High Level Committee, the State Government, State Legislature and, above all, the Official Language – poor Urdu.

Once again, I am grateful to the Higher Education Department for thinking of me as a Member of the SCPUL. However, in the given set up, as a Member of SCPUL I do not see myself contributing anything worthwhile. Thanks. But no, thanks.

Khalid Bashir Ahmad

RECOLLECTIONS OF A CENTURY

477. The Dogra rule in Kashmir began with Gulab Singh in 1946 AD and ended with Hari Singh's flight from Srinagar in October 1947 AD

478. Son of a Croatian origin hotelier who converted to Islam and married a Muslim girl from Tangmarg, Kashmir.
479. The conversation was held on 9 May 2010. Muhammad Afzal and Dr. Zafar, son and grandson, respectively of Parray were present.
480. Close associate of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who became Deputy Chief Minister under the former when they reached an accord with Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, in 1975, twenty-two years after the unceremonious exit of Sheikh as the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir and prolonged incarceration. After bartering away the Plebiscite Movement for power, Beg described the twenty-two years of their 'struggle' as "wandering in wilderness".
481. The famous hill in Srinagar city adorned by an ancient shrine built of stones.
482. Kashmiri Hindus who prefer to be called as Kashmiri Pandits. The community has wielded power and clout throughout the long subjugation of Kashmir since 1586 AD when the Mughal king Akbar annexed the country.
483. A long robe worn by Kashmiris during winter to escape chill.
484. A locality, bordering Sonawar, situated on the banks of the Dal Lake.
485. One of the last three remaining old cantilever wooden bridges spanning River Jhelum in Srinagar city.
486. A large field in the uptown Srinagar developed by the last Dogra ruler, Hari Singh, for playing the game of Polo. The field is now used to play different games especially football.
487. A Christian missionary doctor who arrived in Kashmir towards the fall of 19th century.
488. Uncle and father of the present author.
489. Robert Thorp gives list of different officials employed for collection and division of the land produce and the amount of taxes exacted from the hapless farmers. He also enumerates other taxes levied on them such as Fruit Tax, Animal Tax, Pony Tax, Puttee Tax, Ghee Tax, Fowls Tax and Honey Tax. In addition to the money tax exacted from the farmers upon different grain of Rabi and Kharief crops, a tax called *Pussudart* was also levied annually on each house throughout the villages at the rate of 4 *annas* to 20 *annas*, according to

the size of the family. Three-fourths of annual produce of fruit like walnut, apple, pear, apricot, almonds and quinces is taken by the Government. From every village where land produces 500 kharwars of grain, two or three of sheep or goat are taken annually. One pony is taken every year under the same conditions. One woollen blanket is taken every year under the same conditions. For each milk cow, half a seer of ghee is annually taken. One to ten fowls are taken annually from each house according to the number of inmates. Two-thirds of the produce of honey is taken annually. (*Kashmir Misgovernment*, p. 22). "The majority here have to submit to the religious prejudices of the small minority. Until recently the killing of that sacred animal, the cow, was punishable with death. Imprisonment with life is now the penalty, as many an unfortunate Mohammedan, I believe, is lying immured in Hari Parbat because that in time of famine he has ventured to kill his own ox to save himself and family from starvation." (E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet, Travels in Kashmir, Tibet & Gilgit*, p. 19).

490. An inhuman and infinitely oppressive institution under which Kashmiri Muslims were forcibly taken on unpaid labour for carrying on their backs supplies for the army in Gilgit and Ladakh, through the most inhospitable and treacherous mountain tracks that would see few of them returning back alive.
491. Corrupt and heartless officials employed by the Dogra rulers to keep vigil on crops and ensure that the impoverished tillers of the land did not take away even a grain for their own use.
492. Syed Yaqoob popularly known as Syed Sahab is a highly revered saint believed to have arrived from Central Asia several hundred years ago along with many other Muslim spiritual personalities. His mausoleum is located at Sonawar where a Muslim cemetery and a recently constructed large mosque are also located.
493. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's close confidante who replaced him as Prime Minister when the former was ousted from power in 1953 AD
494. Now headquarter of a newly created district of the same name in north Kashmir.

495. A feudal practice started by Dogra ruler, Ranbir Singh, in 1872 AD by which Civil Secretariat and other major offices of the Government shift along with office records from Srinagar to Jammu every year in November for six month of winter and move back in May. The practice has been drawing severe criticism for being an avoidable burden on exchequer and the relic of an autocratic dispensation. As many as eight thousand Government employees of Civil Secretariat and other 85 Government offices along with office records shift twice in a year between the cities of Srinagar and Jammu. The officials are paid Special Move Travelling Allowance (SMTA) which was enhanced in 2015 from Rs. 10,000 to Rs 15,000 per employee. As per official figures, a whopping sum of Rs. 4.5 crore was spent by the Government on the one-side shift of offices in April-May 2009 of which the maximum, Rs. 3.9 crores, were paid as SMTA only. In 1987, Farooq Abdullah's Government had announced discontinuance of Darbar Move and offices did not shift from Srinagar to Jammu. Abdullah's decision was influenced by the bewilderment expressed by the then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi earlier that year on the shift of Government offices from Kashmir during winter when problems of people are aggravated by the vagaries of weather. However, in the face of severe hue and cry by people in Jammu who see the practice as a means of brisk business, the Government had to relent within a month.
496. Town and headquarter of the district of the same name in south Kashmir officially called Anantnag.
497. Abdul Qadeer Khan who made a fiery speech at *Khanqab-e-Moalla* against the Dogra ruler on 21 June 1931.
498. A district of the undivided Kashmir, now the capital of Pakistan Administered Kashmir on the other side of the Line of Control.
499. Father-in-law of Kashmir's popular leader, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.
500. Famous hill resort of Kashmir, 54 kilometers from Srinagar.
501. A community of Muslims mostly engaged in cattle rearing.
502. In his autobiography, *Aatash-e-Chinar* (Flame of the Chinar), Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah makes a very brief, rather passing, mention of his father-in-law whom he describes

as "Michael Henry Nedou, the eldest son of the owner of the famous Hotel Nedous who would frequent Gulmarg in connection with the management of his hotel there. He had converted to Islam and taken the name of Sheikh Ahmad Hussain and married to a local Gujjar girl, Mir Jan, who mothered Akbar Jahan with whom I was married." Interestingly, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is silent on his relationship with his father-in-law. He describes his mother-in-law as "a pious woman who had brought up her daughter according to religious tenants." He writes that his would-be mother-in-law invited him to her house before marriage and everybody at home looked at him curiously as if he was a novelty. (*Aatash-e-Chinar*, p. 193-95). There is no mention of Henry Nedou being present there which gives credence to Parray's claim that Nedou did not like his son-in-law and that he was against her daughter's marriage with him.

503. Thomas Edward Lawrence was a British Army Intelligence agent who brought about Arab revolt against Turkish Caliphate during the World War I. Blockbuster Hollywood movie titled 'Lawrence of Arabia' made on his exploits as intelligence agent in 1963 won 7 Oscars. The lead role in the movie was played by Irish-born actor Peter O'Toole. At Lahore, Lawrence pretended to be a Muslim named Pir Karam Shah.
504. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his autobiography is silent about the alleged first marriage of his wife.
505. The imposter Lawrence allegedly played trick with his lawyer as the cheque that he gave him as fee for fighting his case bounced. Writing about the incident, Huma Dar writes: My father had met Lawrence passing as an exiled "Afghan Prince," Pir Karam Shah. In early 1930s, Lawrence (accompanied by my grandfather's first cousin, Chacha Majeed) had come to consult my grandfather at his home, then in Gaukadal, for advice on getting a good divorce lawyer. He was married to Akbar Jehan, who post-divorce married Sheikh Abdullah, Kashmir's first Prime Minister after 1947. The cheque Lawrence gave the lawyer, Maulvi Abdullah, bounced, and the latter never forgave my Abba Jaan, my grandfather, for sending this worthless client his

way. (<http://pulsemedia.org/2011/12/08/a-passport-of-the-country-without-a-post-office>).

Dr. Nyla Ali Khan, US based academic and grand daughter of Akbar Jahan, debunks the marriage story. She recalls her grandmother rubbing it as fabrication, the purpose for which was to denigrate her and to belittle her work. Khan quotes Prof. Stephen E. Tabachnick, author of 'Lawrence of Arabia: An Encyclopedia' as describing the Lawrence - Jahan marriage story "completely false". [Pak Tea House, 7 March 2017, parkteahouse.net].

506. Political party of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir formed in October 1932 at Srinagar to spearhead mass movement against the autocratic Dogra rule. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was elected its first President during the meeting of Muslim representatives of the State held at Pathar Masjid, Srinagar from 14 to 16 October 1932.
507. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's cozying up with the Indian National Congress leadership, especially Jawaharlal Nehru, against Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Muslim League, led him to abdicate his role of being the leader of the Muslim community, from which he drew support and strength, and answer the wishes of Nehru to convert the Muslim Conference into the National Conference, a secular party subsequently responsible for India gaining foothold in Kashmir in 1947 in spite of overwhelming public opinion against such a move. The conversion of the Muslim Conference resulted in its split with leaders like Choudhary Ghulam Abbas who subsequently championed the cause of Muslims of Jammu & Kashmir under the banner of the Muslim Conference.
508. Parray's son, Muhammad Afzal who was present, confirmed the existence of graves atop the hill. He said he vividly recalls that as a youngster, he along some others from the locality had accompanied Bakht Sahab, a spiritual personality of the area, up the hill who had confirmed that there were graves there.

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About the Author

Khalid Bashir Ahmad is a former Kashmir Administrative Service officer. He has served as Head, Departments of Information & Public Relations, Libraries & Research, and Archives, Archaeology & Museums. Before hanging his boots in 2014, he was Secretary, Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture & Languages. His recent book, *Kashmir: Exposing the Myth Behind the Narrative* challenges the popular narrative about Kashmir and its inhabitants and blows away long accumulated fog over its history. His earlier work, *Jhelum: The River Through My Backyard* is credited with having added the *Jhelum Factor* to the history of Kashmir. His two works of Urdu poetry and prose have won him the State's highest literary award in 1984 and 2010, respectively.

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look at recorded history by
blowing away some of the
fog accumulated over it. The
events and occurrences
discussed here mostly do not
figure in the 'popular
narrative' or have been told
in a different vein. The idea
is to bring to the fore a fresh
perspective corroborated by
undisputed sources. The text
is adequately referenced and
supported by a wealth of
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